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OF GLASGOW

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MDCCCXCVI.

DOCTOR PETER LOWE.

MEMORIALS

OF THE

FACULTY OF PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS OF GLASGOW

1599-1850

WITH A SKETCH OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE GLASGOW MEDICAL SCHOOL AND OF THE MEDICAL PROFESSION IN THE WEST OF SCOTLAND

BY

ALEXANDER DUNCAN, B.A. LOND.

SECRETARY AND LIBRARIAN OF THE FACULTY

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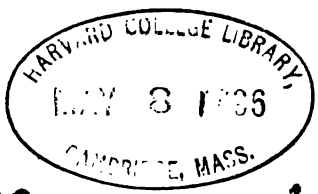

The Author.

PREFACE

THE writer of even the local memorials of such a calling as that of the healing art is at some disadvantage should he happen not to be a member of it. On some matters his point of view is apt to be a little different from that of the man specially initiated into the mysteries of the craft. In the preparation of these pages the sense of this disadvantage has often been felt by the writer, even although he has been closely connected with the Faculty in Glasgow for over thirty years. His only apology indeed for putting his hand to the work at all is that it seemed a thing sooner or later to be done, and he saw no likelihood of the task being undertaken by any of the present Fellows. In their relation to such an undertaking the members of the medical profession generally may be placed in two categories—those who have much professional work to do, and those who have little. The former have rarely adequate time to devote to work of the kind; the latter, who are often juniors, have seldom much taste for it.

A considerable part of this memoir was written about twenty years ago, and a few words may be necessary to explain the circumstances under which its preparation was undertaken, and why it only now sees the light, at a time when many of those who interested themselves in its inception have passed away.

In 1869 the late Dr. William Weir handed over to the Faculty a MS. of considerable size consisting of copious extracts from the Minute Books of the Faculty, connected by a thread of comments and reflections of his own. It had not been written with any view to publication, and indeed in the letter presenting it he expressly stated that "the printing of

such a large mass is out of the question." The document was however fitted to serve a useful purpose as a key to the Minute Books, rendering their contents more available for reference, and also as a kind of annotated digest of these records. A year or two later the writer was requested in quite an unofficial way by the late Dr. J. G. Fleming, the then President, to carefully look into the record books, with such aid as Dr. Weir's MS. might afford, with a view to ascertain how far they really contained the materials of a fairly complete, but condensed historical sketch of the corporation. On this being done, it was found that the earliest Minute Book (1602-81) was not only extant but readily available, a transcription of it from the crabbed caligraphy of the original having been made by Mr. William Hill, LL.D., Clerk of the Faculty, himself an adept in Glasgow archaeology; that the second Minute Book (1681-1733) was awanting, having been accidentally destroyed by fire last century, under circumstances stated in the text; and that from the latter part of 1733 onwards, the set of Minute Books was unbroken.

It did not require a prolonged examination to make it evident that for anything approaching to an adequate sketch it would be necessary to largely supplement the information in the official Records by gatherings from outside sources. The early Minutes are often bald, and not always self-interpreting, and for over fifty years, a sixth part of the entire period of the Faculty's existence, they are awanting altogether. Further, the Minute Books are concerned only with the doings of the calling as a corporate body, and yield no information as to the personal history of the members. To other quarters therefore it was necessary to turn; and the gleanings from these occasionally referred to medical affairs or movements not directly connected with the Faculty. The notion accordingly took shape of so enlarging the scope of the memoir as to make it a historical sketch, imperfect though it might be, of Glasgow in its medical aspects, instead of, as at first contemplated, strictly limiting it to the doings of the corporate body first charged with the regulation of the calling in the City and Western Counties.

In casting about for the materials of information outside the Faculty Records, the most obvious and likely sources were the volumes of the published Records of the Town Council of Glasgow. Those consulted were—*Burgh Records of the City of Glasgow*, 1573-81 (Maitland Club, 1832); *Memorabilia of the City of Glasgow* (1585-1750), reprinted for private circulation

in 1868; *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow*, 1573-1642 (Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1876); *Extracts from the Burgh Records of Glasgow*, 1630-1662 (*Ibid.* 1881).

A search through these brought to light the points of early contact between the Town Council and the Faculty or their members. An examination kindly permitted by Dr. (now Sir James) Marwick, Town Clerk, was also made of the MS. volumes of the Minutes of the Town Council from about 1700-1722, chiefly with a view to elucidate the disputes within the Faculty which resulted in the renunciation of the Letter of Deaconry by the surgeons in 1719 and their consequent separation from the barbers. In this way the hiatus in the Minute Books of the Faculty was made somewhat less serious; and the gap was still further diminished by information afforded by a careful examination of a number of documents, printed and manuscript, in the possession of the Faculty. The various histories of Glasgow from M'Ure downward were of course laid under contribution, as were other works likely to contain local medical references, such as the *Munimenta* of the University, and other publications of the Maitland Club; whilst some of the histories of the counties of Ayr, Dumbarton, Renfrew, etc., and those of some of their chief towns, were occasionally of assistance in reference to medical men outside the city.

As regards the present century, the materials made use of, as being the most serviceable and interesting for the purpose, were nearly all obtained from sources outside the Faculty Minutes. The voluminous printed documents in the lawsuit raised by the Faculty against certain medical graduates, and later in that of the University and its Masters of Surgery against the Faculty, were examined to bring out the various points in these suits, the latter of which may be said to have been a *cause célèbre*. From the Records of the Glasgow Royal Infirmary, an inspection of which was kindly permitted by Mr. Henry Lamond, clerk of the institution, was obtained, among other things, the information centering round the subject of Clinical Teaching in that hospital. The sources of the materials for the sketch of the rise and progress of the Glasgow Medical School are generally stated in the footnotes unless they are too obvious to require definite references.

To the Faculty Clerk, Dr. William H. Hill, already mentioned, thanks are due for some notes on the visitations of the plague in Glasgow, which were utilized in the chapter on the early "Epidemiology" of the City; whilst some interesting "Notanda anent the Glasgow Poor" by the same gentleman,

which could not well be assimilated in the text, have been given in Appendix V.

That the monograph of Dr. James Finlayson on Dr. Peter Lowe was at hand, if not in the preparation, at least on the revision of the chapter on that surgeon, is sufficiently obvious on the face of it; and to other obligations in connection with this work Dr. Finlayson has added that of placing at the service of the publishers the portrait of the subject of his memoir reproduced from the painting in the Faculty Hall.

The inclusion of an annotated Roll of Members did not enter into the original plan of the book. Had the suggestion of this addition come earlier it would have so far modified the arrangement of the materials as to preclude the repetition of any statements or references in the "Roll" which had appeared in the text. Under the actual circumstances some iteration could not altogether be prevented without recasting the whole. When the name of the wife of a member is given, it is usually taken from the list of widows in the Records of the Widows' Fund of the Faculty. To Mr. W. Innes Addison, of the University, acknowledgment is due for his kindness in giving and verifying many dates of graduation in the "Roll."

On a review made of the whole materials after they were fairly well in hand and had to a considerable extent been put into shape, it appeared to the writer very doubtful whether the story as he had pieced it together was one of such general interest as to make it worth giving to the public. In view of this doubt the work was thrown aside for a good many years. Later consideration, taking perhaps a more hopeful tinge from the views of others, suggested that the lapse of years would probably rather help to dissipate the materials collected than to greatly add to them; and that the publication of these memorials now, though it might serve no other end, would so far be a contribution to local history. It is, however, mainly owing to the friendly insistence of the late President of the Faculty, Dr. David Yellowlees, and to the desire of the Fellows for its publication as formally expressed in their Minute of 3rd June, 1895, on hearing a report by a small committee they had appointed to advise on this point, that the work now sees the light.

The question of the date to which these Memorials should be brought down was not settled without some hesitation. In fixing the middle of the present century as the line, the dominant consideration was, that it was obviously very undesirable to extend the limit down to a period in

which men now living would to any extent figure as the actors in the transactions recorded. The date was, however, not made absolute, but only kept in view as a landmark which might be worked up to, but not far passed. As far as the history of the Faculty proper is concerned, the events recorded have been kept fairly well within the limit. Indeed, it would have been no easy task to invest with interest to the present generation the subject matter of not a few of the Minutes of many years anterior to the passing of the Medical Act of 1858, which practically abolished local jurisdiction all over the country. The kaleidoscopic views of medical politics and medical reform as exhibited in the records of the endless negotiations, deputations, reports of committees, abortive medical bills, and schemes to set the medical world right were no doubt of absorbing interest to some of the fathers of the Faculty of that period. To the present generation of the Fellows the tale would be "stale, flat, and unprofitable."

That these Memorials are in no sense official will perhaps sufficiently appear on the face of them. For neither statement of fact nor expression of opinion is any one responsible except the writer. Inaccuracies and errors of judgment will doubtless be found in the book, but the burden of them must rest on the proper shoulders. The plan which invests the writer with the sole personal responsibility for what he says has the compensating advantage of divesting him of official trammels and leaving him perfect freedom in the expression of his opinions, a liberty of which he has not hesitated to avail himself.

To the obligations already acknowledged here or in the body of the work, there must be added the very great indebtedness to the three gentlemen, Dr. James Finlayson, Dr. John Glaister, and Dr. John Lindsay Steven, who, on the suggestion of the writer, were nominated by the Faculty to act as a committee of consultation during the preparation of the book for publication.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

THE history of the medical profession in Glasgow differs in one respect from that of other medical centres of the British Islands. In London, Edinburgh, and Dublin, physicians and surgeons were organized in different colleges.[1] In Glasgow, the practitioners of the two great branches of the healing art were from a fairly early period united in one corporation. How this distinction arose need not here be discussed; but no special credit can be claimed for the West of Scotland in having recognized thus early the essential unity of medicine.

That this unity existed as far back as the origin of the healing art can be traced seems beyond question. At the period of Hippocrates, and long after, it is evident that medicine and surgery were one. By the time of Galen, in the second century, there are indications of a beginning of the separation of the offices of physicians and surgeons, at all events in Rome. But it was not till all the functions of the practitioners of the art of healing had been assumed by ecclesiastics, about the seventh century, that the way was paved for the eventual disruption of medicine from surgery. In the condition of society then existing this usurpation of office was by no means an unmixed evil. If the cleric was but poorly fitted to treat disease, it must be admitted that whatever rivals he had were, as a rule, still worse equipped for the office than himself. The Jews, it is true, had a hereditary knowledge of simples and leech-craft, and some of them were learned physicians; but the pariah condition of this despised race injuriously affected the range of their usefulness. Of mediciners of all kinds there was no lack. Every country in Europe was overrun with charlatans and pretenders to medical secrets, possessing, as a rule, very little knowledge of disease, or of the powers

[1] About 1421, the physicians and surgeons of London were united in one faculty; but the union does not appear to have lasted long. (South's *Craft of Surgery*, Introd. xi.; also 52.)

of the medicaments with which they combated it. The ecclesiastic had, at his worst, a little Latin, and, at his best, could read it fluently; and by means of this, the common language of the literate class, he could collect recipes and acquire useful information; and on the Revival of Letters he could, by the same key and by the aid of Greek, unlock the storehouse of the ancients. For conserving and propagating knowledge the organization and discipline of the church were also of service.

For centuries then the cleric treated all manner of diseases, internal and external. Nor did the clerical practitioner neglect to exact his fees. Physicking the body was often more remunerative than ministering to the soul. The monks especially took kindly to medicine, often making long excursions for the purpose of finding patients. At last the ecclesiastic seems to have devoted himself to the work of preparing for and practising his medical duties so ardently that it was alleged he was apt to forget his prescribed religious obligations. At this open preference of physic to divinity the church took alarm. Various edicts were issued with a view to limit the range of their medical work; and, in 1215, an edict of Pope Innocent III. debarred ecclesiastics from performing any operation involving the shedding of blood. But the aphorism, "Ecclesia abhorret a sanguine," expressed rather the pretext than the reason of this new departure. Coincident with this pious horror of blood, another feeling prompted the churchman to withdraw from the practice of surgery. The spirit of feudalism had drawn a line, deep and sharply cut, between the gentleman and the handicraftsman. Manual labour, from which the worker derived his subsistence, became the badge of an inferior class. Surgery was now regarded as simply a manual art; its deep and essential relations to medicine were to a large degree lost sight of.

But though debarred from the practice of surgery, the churchmen saw no valid reason why they should not share in the emoluments accruing therefrom. They accordingly hit upon the expedient of sending a deputy in surgical cases from among their own retainers. Of all the servants of the monastery his special duties pointed out the barber as the most fitting substitute. Already he had some of the training of a cunning leech. In phlebotomy he was skilful; and this depleting operation was universal, and, indeed, periodically obligatory on monks. Cold applications to the shaven head was a favourite treatment for not a few diseases; and in the tonsure of crowns, which in those days was a work of art regulated by canon, the monastic barber was an adept.

The change was not, therefore, in all respects the worse for the patient. If less cultured in mind, the barber was more cunning in hand than his monkish masters. With his functions thus widely enlarged he emancipated himself by degrees, and gained a position of comparative independence. Hence there eventually arose throughout Europe, in the twelfth and

thirteenth centuries, a new class of craftsmen: men who wielded the lancet and the knife equally with the scissors and the razor; cunning in the application of ointments, plasters, and baths; blending suppleness and humility often with inordinate conceit.

Such appears to have been the mode of evolution of that, perhaps to us the oddest of all figures in later mediaeval society—the barber-surgeon, a figure which did not finally disappear from Europe till the beginning of the present century.[1]

By the end of the twelfth century surgery then had been divorced from medicine over Western Europe. For the next century and a half the new class of practitioners exercised both the arts of surgery and barbery, even the royal surgeon being no exception.[2] But as time went on forces came into play which tended to resolve this singular conglomerate into its original elements, though the process of resolution was often slow. Differences amongst various craftsmen in the matter of manual dexterity, of boldness, of acquired information, and of natural fitness, pointed out some as best adapted for the higher, and others for the lower, sphere of handicraft work. Of the composite craft, some members evinced such a deftness in operative surgery as to raise them above the necessity of wielding the brush and razor. The necessities of military service in those days of constant fighting also stimulated the formation of a grade of surgeons superior to the ordinary barber. Later on, the traditions of the pre-mediaeval epoch, when medicine and surgery were looked on as an indivisible unity, must have contributed to the separation of the two crafts. It is probable that the process of resolution would have been considerably accelerated, at all events in the British Islands, but for the drag placed on the natural movement of events by the conservative tendency of the trades-guilds, or corporations.

The guilds of craftsmen appear to have been called into existence partly for the observance of religious rites, and partly by the powerful instinct of self-preservation. In the rude state of society the clash of conflicting forces was so great that it was only by union that class interests could be effectually protected. But once originated, the utility of the guilds for other purposes than self-defence was manifested. They formed

[1] In 1801 some English assistant surgeons, on joining the Swedish navy, found that one of the duties required of them was to shave the ship's company. On declining to undertake this duty, they were summarily dismissed the service. In the Peninsular war, shaving was included among the duties of the Portuguese army surgeons. (Millingen's *Curiosities of Medical Experience*, II. 13.)

[2] Thus, in 1443, in a patent issued for the naturalization of Michael Belwell, surgeon to Henry VI., he is designated "Valettus et Sirurgicus Noster." In a warrant issued to two other surgeons of the same monarch, in 1454, named Wareyn and Marshall, amongst their necessary duties is enumerated *capitis rasura*. (Rymer's *Foedera*, XI. 18, 347).

what was greatly needed, a centre or bond of organization for each calling, by means of which the common affairs of the members of the craft could be regulated. As regards the guilds having relation to the healing art, things shaped themselves somewhat differently in different countries. In Paris the surgeons appear to have separated themselves from the barbers at a much earlier period than in this country, and were incorporated into a "Confraire," or College, in 1268. In the same century the Faculty of Medicine of Paris, which was an academic foundation of physicians, took its origin; while the barbers who practised surgery formed, for a considerable period, a third party.

The records of the quarrels of the first two of these bodies have formed the theme of a good deal of literature. The barbers were at one time taken under the wing of the surgeons, at another adopted by the physicians, played off by the Faculté against St. Côme (as the "Confrairie," or College of Surgeons, was familiarly called), which in turn used them to "dish" the physicians. It was a long-continued struggle on the part of the surgeons to emancipate themselves from the thraldom of the physicians.

In regard to the British Islands, the barbers of London appear to have existed as a Guild in 1308, and as a Livery Guild in 1387.[1] In 1462 they were incorporated not only as barbers but as surgeons by Edward IV., under the style of "The Masters or Governors of the Mystery or Commonality of Barbers of the City of London, using the Mystery or Faculty of Surgery."[2] But besides the barber-surgeons there existed in London a fellowship of barbers who practised surgery only, its members having probably been trained in camps. These two societies were conjoined by an Act of Parliament in 1540. The barbers were incorporated in Dublin in 1446, and in 1572[3] united into a Barber-Surgeons' Company. In Edinburgh the surgeons were incorporated by a municipal "Seal of Cause" in 1505, this being confirmed next year by a grant from James IV. The surgeons were formally disjoined from the barbers in London in 1745; in Dublin the Barber-Surgeons' Company was dissolved by a Reform Act in 1840;[4] while in Edinburgh, as in Glasgow, as we shall see, the formal separation of surgery from barbery took place in 1719. But in all these cities the actual had doubtless preceded the formal and legal separation by many years; barber-surgeons had been resolved into barbers and surgeons, and the somewhat ludicrous incongruity of the corporate union had been in most cases fully realized.

[1] South, *op. cit.*, 15, 75.

[2] This title, however, seems to be obtained only by coalescing the different titles in the Charter. (See Young's *Ann. of the Barber-Surgeons*, 55.)

[3] Cameron's *History of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland*, 60.

[4] Cameron, *op. cit.*, 89.

In England, probably much about the same time as witnessed the separation of surgery from medicine, there happened a further specialization of office. Men who devoted themselves specially to the composition of drugs and the study of the materia medica, took rank as a separate class of apothecaries. They were incorporated in 1606, and some of them, in course of time, began to prescribe as well as to dispense their medicines; but it was not till the present century that they blossomed out into a corporate body with power to license throughout England and Wales, both as regards the preparation and administration of drugs. The apothecary thus became the complement to the surgeon, the two united in one person being the general practitioner. In Scotland the case was different. The surgeon and apothecary were not necessarily disjoined; on the contrary, they were usually united in the same individual, who was known officially as a chirurgeon-apothecary, though it often happened that, either from choice or necessity, some limited themselves to the duties of pharmacists only.

As regards medicine, a few words will suffice for our present purpose to explain the course of events. Long after the cleric was debarred from the practice of surgery, he was permitted and continued—in England under Parliamentary enactment—to practise physic; and even so late as 1512, six years before the Royal College of Physicians of London was incorporated, the Bishop of London was still placed at the head of a board, with authority to call to his assistance four physicians for examining purposes. But it became clear with the advance of time that the two characters of cleric and physician would be better disjoined. On the separation being accomplished, it was however still recognized that the doffing of his ecclesiastical character did not exempt the physician from the necessity of having the liberal academic training of the best of the churchmen. The would-be physician became thus the student of the University, from which he took his degree. Socially he was recognized as in a different grade from the surgeon. In feudal eyes the latter ranked as only a handicraftsman, the former as a gentleman. A similar distinction marked their qualifications to practise. The surgeon's membership or master's grade involved a license to practise within prescribed limits. The physician's degree was an honorary academic distinction, implying general culture and a scientific knowledge of medicine, but conditioned by no territorial restrictions, and conferring no right to reap, or, at all events, to legally recover, the rewards of practice. In Scotland, however, although there had been in the sixteenth century attempts to teach medicine at St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, and perhaps with better success at Aberdeen, there was no proper medical faculty in any of the Universities, and virtually no medical teaching, till the last quarter of the seventeenth century. When the elder Scaliger visited Scotland about the middle of the sixteenth century, he states that it did not contain more than one regular practitioner

of medicine; but fifty years later the number had probably considerably increased.

If now we take the end of the sixteenth century as a definite epoch for the purpose of a rapid survey of the condition of Scotland in matters medical, a few sentences will suffice to describe it. A few of the larger towns had one and some of them possibly two physicians. These had been educated abroad, generally in Italy, France, or later in the Low Countries. Of what were in Italy and Paris called gown-surgeons—that is, surgeons who did not "barbourize"—there were very few, and of these some, like the physicians, had got their training or acquired their experience on the Continent. The general practitioner of the period was the barber-surgeon; and there being no medical schools in the country it was necessary to go abroad to obtain any education as a mediciner other than that of the barber-surgeon's apprentice. Fortunately there was little difficulty in the Scottish student finding facilities for his education on the Continent, especially in France. The existence of a special law, which was ratified in 1599 by Henry IV., for the naturalization of Scotchmen in France, often tempted them even to settle in that country permanently, or for a considerable period; and some of them there rose to eminence. Thus Henry Blackwood, a doctor-regent of the Paris Faculty of Medicine, attained to the dignity of being Dean of that learned body; while Peter Lowe, as will be seen in another chapter (IV.), was one of the Surgeons in Ordinary of Henry IV.

In addition to the physicians, the barber-surgeons, and the barbers who practised surgery only, all of whom may be regarded as the regularly qualified practitioners at this period, there was a motley array of nondescripts, many of them specialists of a kind, nearly all of them very ignorant, who swarmed all over the country.

CHAPTER II

OLD GLASGOW—SANITATION AND EPIDEMIOLOGY

A RAPID glance at the general condition of Glasgow in the closing years of the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth centuries may be of use in giving a clearer apprehension of the specially medical aspects of the burgh.

The position of the medical profession in Glasgow during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries will not be properly appreciated unless it is borne in mind that up to the beginning of the present century it was not a town of great size, and in the earlier part of the period may be described as almost insignificant. The population of the town and suburbs in the year 1600 does not appear to have much exceeded seven thousand. As regards wealth, less than half a century earlier (1556) it seems to have held only the eleventh place amongst the Scottish towns,[1] and at the end of the century the relative proportion would be little altered. It consisted mainly of one considerable street—High Street—crossed at its upper end by the line of Rotten Row on the west, and Drygate on the east; while similarly at its southern extremity it was intersected by the line of the Trongate and Gallowgate; and had extended also southward to the Clyde, probably in a straggling way, by the line of Saltmarket and Stockwell. Numerous narrow "wynds" branched off from both sides of the main lines. The general style of the houses would now be reckoned mean and inconvenient. They were mostly built of wood, the booths or shops, if sometimes of stone, were faced with wood, the roof covering usually being of thatch. The houses were pierced at often oddly irregular intervals by windows, nearly always of small size. To most of the houses there were gardens at the back. The "Hie Kirk" or Cathedral, beside it the Archbishop's palace enclosed in its garden, the College in High Street, and near it the Blackfriars Kirk, a noble pile of great antiquity, were amongst the principal buildings.

[1] Gibson's *History of Glasgow*, 78.

The town was in a sense enclosed, the regular entrance being made through various "ports" or gates; but there was no surrounding wall. In point of status and municipal liberty Glasgow held an inferior position to the royal burghs. At the beginning of the seventeenth century it was still only a bishop's burgh, owing fealty to the head of the See or the temporal barons who succeeded. It had not the power of nominating its own magistrates.

But the matter of greatest medical interest is the sanitary aspect of the city. In this respect Glasgow appears to have compared favourably with some other Scottish towns of which we obtain glimpses; yet the light thrown by the Town Council Records on the condition of the burgh shows many dark spots. Not long before the period we have named we find that butchers killed cattle on the street, and dungsteads lay at the very doors of the houses. It is little wonder therefore that filth diseases were common. Leprosy also was so prevalent that at the chief courts regular lists of those affected were delivered to the magistrates, whose duty it was to issue orders for their seclusion. To receive the victims of this loathsome malady a hospital had been erected on the south bank of the river in St. Ninian's croft, somewhere near the bottom of the present Hospital Street.

Tradition concedes to Marjory Stuart, "Lady Lochow," the honour of founding and endowing this lazar house about 1350.[1] To the "poor liper folk" in this hospital, described as "being at the south side of the bridge at Glasgow," we find John Painter, probably the first master of the "Sang Scule," bequeathing the sum of 20s.[2] The duty of taking cognizance of the lepers, visiting them and making returns of their number and names to the Michaelmas head court of the burgh devolved oddly enough on the Water Bailie.[3] It does not appear why this particular magistrate was singled out for the disagreeable duty. Possibly it was that his name was lowest on the list. The Clyde in those days was no doubt very different from what it is now, but even then its waters, comparatively fresh from the sanctifying influences of its Patron Saint, could hardly have been credited with the healing virtues of the Jordan. The order of notice respecting the "Lipper folks" in the Town Council Records usually is that they are first "delatit as Liper," *i.e.* legally accused or informed upon as being infected with the disease, and thereupon ordained to be visited, and if found leprous to be "secludit of the town to the hospital at the brig end."[4] Not only the Town Council but the Presbytery of Glasgow took cognizance of the disease when occurring within their bounds.[5] Thus in December, 1599,

[1] M'Ure's *History of Glasgow*, 2nd edition, 52.
[2] *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*, Vol. I. 159.
[3] Town Council Records, 1st May, 1582; 20th October, 1588; 7th October, 1589.
[4] Minutes of 19th January, 1573; 17th January, 1575.
[5] *Maitland Club Miscellany*, Vol. I. 407.

they refused to allow a man to contract marriage from his being contaminated with leprosy.[1] The dread of the disease was very great. The husband sometimes denounced his stricken wife as the victim of the malady. An instance of this occurs in the Presbytery Records, in which the husband who gave in the "lamenting," or complaint, had been shortly before dealt with by the Presbytery for marital infidelity.[2]

From their retreat on the south bank of the river the lepers were permitted under certain stringent conditions to issue forth to the town for the purpose of soliciting alms. They were at this period clad in a gown with hood, and sleeves closed to the finger-tips. To give warning of their approach they were provided with "clappers," which they were obliged to rattle as they went along. A Town Council edict of 1610 (10th October) ordains "that the lipper of the hospital sall gang onlie upon the calsie syde near the gutter, and sall haife clipperis, and ane claith upon their mouth and face, and sall stand afar of qll they resaif almous, or answer under the payne of banischeing from the toun and hospitall." From other sources we learn that the contagion was at that time believed to reside chiefly in their pestilential breath. The resemblance, in some respects, of the municipal statutes regarding the leper to the provisions of the Mosaic code will strike the reader. 'And the leper in whom the plague is, his clothes shall be rent, and his head bare, and he shall put a covering upon his upper lip, and shall cry, Unclean, unclean."[3]

By the middle of the seventeenth century it is evident from the Town Council Records that the Leper house was not much made use of, the order of the magistrates being usually limited to the seclusion of the lepers in their own houses. As late as December, 1662, however, a man was sent to the retreat at the Brigend.[4] Though not confined to any one class of the community, there is some evidence to show that the disease drew its largest share of victims from those in humble circumstances. There is little evidence in the Records bearing on its mode of propagation. In one case at least two, and possibly three sisters are named as stricken with the malady.[5] Bearing in mind the size of the burgh at this time, the number of lepers was not inconsiderable. About the end of the sixteenth century the annual lists handed in at the Michaelmas Courts amounted usually to about four or five; and we find that in the latter part of 1589 there were six lepers in the hospital.[6]

[1] *MS. Copy of Presbytery Minutes*, Vol. I., Pt. III., 141, December, 1599.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. I., Pt. V., 354, 381, 382, 383, 388. *Maitland Club Miscellany*, I. 407.
[3] *Leviticus*, chap. xiii. 45.
[4] *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow*, 1630-1662, 498.
[5] *Ibid.*, 1573-1642, I, 36, 91.
[6] *Memorabilia of Glasgow*, 27; Cleland's *Statistical Facts*, 1837, 22. For other references see *Journal of Cutan. Med.*, IV. 207; *Proc. Philos. Soc. of Glasgow*, XII. 5.

But by the old burghers of Glasgow there was a disease more dreaded even than leprosy. The baleful shadow of the "pest," as the Plague was usually called, lay on all classes, rich and poor alike. If less loathsome than leprosy, it was far more desolating in its effects. It attacked the town several times; but Glasgow appears to have sometimes escaped when the plague was raging all around. In 1330 it seems to have visited the burgh,[1] while the *Chartulary of Glasgow* shows that it appeared again in 1350, and it returned in 1380.[2] The *Records* of the burgh show that it visited Scotland in 1574, and that the townsmen were on the watch, especially as regards the eastern seaports. The "statutes" which the Town Council enacted to avert the danger on this occasion were certainly strong and exacting; but they hardly deserve the sweeping encomium of Mr. John Smith, youngest, that "Our Boards of Health at the present day, under the afflicting dispensation of cholera, have not, it is believed, ever drawn up a more judicious, precise, and comprehensive body of instructions and orders."[3] As regards measures having reference to searching, visitation, isolation, and quarantine, this statement is perhaps not too strong, but the only approach to measures of sanitation was "Item, Ordanis ye sculehouss wynd, and all ye vennallis to be simply condampnit and stekit up."[4]

In 1584 the burghs on the Fife coast were again under suspicion, and men were appointed to watch the various entries to the town. The alarm had in no way subsided by next year, a number of the burgesses leaving the town.[5] In 1588 the plague ravaged Paisley, and the Glasgow authorities were in great alarm. They had again recourse to the most energetic measures of quarantine, and to some small extent of sanitation, completely stopping all communication with the infected district. By these sensible measures the danger for the time appears to have been averted. From the Records of the Presbytery of Glasgow[6] it appears that on 8th August, 1598, a fast day was ordered "to be proponit . . . for eschewing of the pest within this cuntrey." In 1602 it is spoken of as in the town, and we learn incidentally that the townsmen had taken to absenting themselves from church for fear of infection.

From the Records of the Presbytery[7] we gather that marriages were authorized to take place when the parties had not been proclaimed in the parish church of Glasgow, but in Govan; the reason being "thro' ye not convening of ye people in yir perellous tymes of Godis jügements, threatened throut ye feir of ye pest."

In 1604 the old expedient of a fast of a week's duration was again tried in face of a threatened invasion. "And y[t] for avoiding of God his

[1] Cleland's *Statistical Facts, Appendix*, 22.
[2] Gibson's *History of Glasgow*, 72, 73.
[3] *Burgh Records of Glasgow, Maitland Club*, Pref. Notice, xviii.
[4] *Ibid.*, 27-30.
[5] Minute, 9th October, 1585.
[6] *Maitland Club Miscellany*, Vol. I., Pt. I., 91.
[7] *MS. Copy*, Vol. I., Pt. I., 67.

jugementis threatened on yis country be ye plague of pestilence for avoiding his jugmentis qlk for ye sins of yis land he may send on ye fruitt of ye grund qlk he has blassit in manis apperãce abundãtlie."[1] Even the most stringent rules of ecclesiastical discipline had to be relaxed in presence of the awful pest. Thus in 1605[2] the Presbytery accepted as a sufficient reason for granting baptism to an illegitimate child, instead of remitting the mother back to be dealt with by her own presbytery, "because scho durst not resort to Ly^{t}gow q^{r} scho offendit for feir of ye pest of w^{h} ye bur^{t} of Ly^{t}gow is pñtlie (presently) visited." Next year[3] we learn "Tryell being tane of the seiknes in Archibald Muiris hous and Marioune Walker, his mother, and fund to be the plaige," an order was given to ascertain "quha last frequentit with hir and quhat scheraris schewr with hir" (what reapers reaped with her). Pestiferous persons who declined to be "enclosit" were to be transported with the plague-stricken to the "Muir." Dogs and cats were to be kept fast or hung, and strangers were to leave the town on pain of being "enclosit" with the persons harbouring them. The Council voted "ane hunderithe pundis of the reddiest of the taxatioune that is in his [a bailie's] handis" for the sustenance of those on the muir.

But the most memorable epidemic of the plague was that which visited Glasgow in 1645-46, and during that and perhaps the next two or three years made terrible havoc amongst the townsmen. Almost from the first the most determined efforts were made to stamp out the disease. Daily house-to-house visitation was eventually adopted, and daily reports sent to the magistrates of the sick.[4] When the measures to arrest its progress failed, it was resolved to have recourse to the old expedient of transporting the infected out of the town to the muir. This muir is believed to have comprised the waste lands of Sighthill, Seggieholm, and others in the district to the north of the burgh. Intimation was to be made, "be touk of drum that na manner of persone goe out to the muir quher the foull persones are without leave of the magistratis, and to certify that those who on the contraire schall be put out to the muir with the haill families they are in."

The prevailing terror invaded the academic precincts in High Street, the University authorities migrating in a body to Irvine, where the Principal, the regents, and the bursars of the College were boarded in 1645 and part of 1646. Local trade was almost at a standstill. Nearly all who could leave the town appear to have done so. The burgh tollmen and tacksmen had to beg off from the payments of their rents. "Comperit the haill takismen of the mylne, laidells, tron, and brig, and intimat to the Councell that in respect of the seiknes and visitatioune they could get

[1] Records of the Presbytery, 8th August, *MS. Copy*, Vol. I., Pt. V., 97.
[2] *Ib.*, 17th August, Vol. I., Pt. V., 242.
[3] *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow*, 20th September, 1606.
[4] Minute, 5th November, 1646.

naething of ther deuties." The burial of the dead was unaccompanied by the usual rites. On 12th December, 1646, it was ordained "that ther be na meiting at lykwakes nor efter burrialls and that this be intimat by touk of drume."

If such was the state of things in the burgh, who can imagine the horrors of the plague-stricken banished to the bleak moor? The time was the depth of winter, their only shelter was "ludges made of daills and spairs," with straw for their bedding. By 20th February, 1647, the visitation of this miserable colony had assumed a systematic form. "James Robiesoune, baxter, is maid choyce of to be visitour of the muire quhair the oncleane fokes ar, and to set doune in a register all occurantes daylie anent the infectioune, . . . and to tak notice of the graves." Frequent entries also appear in the Treasurer's Accounts at this time[1] of disbursements for supply of the poor on the muir, and for "coals, peitts, and strae," furnished to them. On 17th July, the Councillors are appointed by turns for a week to visit the muir, each selecting "an other honest man" to receive a list of all in the muir, and to "disburse to James Robiesoune such money as he sall requyre to sustean the puire on the muir, and to viseit the muir tweiss or thryiss in the week," with other necessary duties of a similar kind. Doctor Rae, possibly a physician reputed to have skill in the treatment of the plague, is written for, but apparently does not come, and Dr. M'Cluir is engaged, and on 26th July gets ten dollars "for bygane service to incouradge him." From a subsequent minute it appears that John Hall, the principal surgeon in Glasgow at that period, by arrangement with the magistrates, gave his services to all and sundry gratuitously, being subsequently paid by them as well for inspecting the bodies of the dead as for his care of the living.[2]

Within the burgh it would appear that sanitary measures were prosecuted with energy. There is a curious minute of 10th March, 1647, in which the bailies, with the aid of a hired man, are charged with the duty of removing "suspect fulyie." In these days the honourable office of the magistracy was clearly very far from a sinecure. One noteworthy result of the compulsory removal of such large numbers of the citizens to the muir, was that the magistrates found that they were obliged *pro tempore* to make payment of their plague patients' debts.[3] From some subsequent minutes we infer that some amount of imposition had been practised by the "unclean" or their friends. Thus on 13th March we find two men appointed to revise "the compts debursit for *honest* men the tyme they closit up for fear of infectioune." Through the whole of the summer and autumn of 1647 the plague appears to have been raging with virulence. As the College session drew near it

[1] Minute, 29th May, 1647, etc.

[2] Minutes of 18th September, 1647, and 26th August and 2nd October, 1648.

[3] Minute, 20th February, 1647.

was necessary to make some arrangement in regard to a temporary local habitation till the plague abated. Irvine had probably been found inconvenient on account of its distance from the city. Paisley was now selected for the purpose, being clear of the pest, though its past reputation as a plague-haunt was not good, and there the College authorities spent part of the winter.[1]

On 22nd July, 1648, the pestilence was still on the increase; a daily inspection of everybody in town was again arranged for; and a proclamation made by tuck of drum prohibiting the frequenting of taverns, or even idle wandering through the streets. From the Town Council Records (for 12th August, 1648) we learn that Glasgow was now in sore straits for money for the maintenance of such numbers of the stricken poor. Accordingly they agreed to call in a sum of two thousand marks, collected but not expended some years before for a similar purpose, and now on loan to the Earl of Wigtown. It was not till the following year that this terrible visitation of plague appears to have come to an end in Glasgow.

In 1665, when the dreadful scourge made its memorable inroad on London, and more than decimated the population, the Town Council Records (3rd September) show that the people of Glasgow were alarmed and on the watch. In the previous year even they were evidently on the alert, the Master of Works having been ordered to repair the ports. This was always done when they had reason to fear an outbreak, as if the magistrates hoped to repel the impalpable infection of what with emphatic tautology they call "the plague of pestilence" from their gates by the same measures as they would the attack of an armed foe. The dreaded visitor, however, did not make its appearance in Glasgow then or subsequently. Its sudden disappearance not long after, not only from this country but from Western Europe generally, has often been made the subject of remark, though scarcely explained.[2]

It is worthy of note that the parts of the burgh which are still or were recently the most obnoxious in a sanitary point of view, had even in these early days acquired that unenviable notoriety as the hot-beds of disease which has since given them a bad pre-eminence. Thus by minute of the Town Council, 29th October, 1574, we find an order already quoted, condemning and shutting up the Sculehouse Wynd. By a subsequent minute (31st October, 1588) "the Scuile Wynd, Lindsay's Port, the Stinking Vennail," are particularized as bad localities, on the occasion of an anticipated infection from Paisley.

During part of the period the pest was intermittently visiting the town,

[1] Mackie's *History of Paisley*, 143. See also *Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis*, III. 537.

[2] The cause of its sudden decline and extinction are discussed by Creighton (*History of Epidemics in Britain*, II. 34, *et seq.*).

we get occasional glimpses of another plague which is generally associated rather with moral than physical impurity. This was the "Glengore" (corrupted from the French Grandgore, *à la grande gorre*, equivalent to *à la grande mode*), a name by which the disease was known in Scotland alone of all the divisions of the kingdom. As is well known the mode of introduction and rapid propagation of this formidable affection has given rise to no small amount of discussion and controversy amongst medical archaeologists. For our purpose it is enough to say that within three years of the arrival of Columbus at Palos from the New World, with which event the sudden outbreak of syphilis in Southern Europe is usually associated, it had unmistakably made its appearance in Scotland. The earliest notice of it we have is from a minute of the Town Council of Aberdeen, dated 21st April, 1497. "The said day it was statut and ordanit be the Alderman and Consale, for the eschewin of the infirmitey cumm out of Franche and strang partis, that all licht wemen be chargit and ordanit to decist fra thar vices and syne of venerie, and all thar buthes and housis skalit, and thai to pass and wirk for thar sustentacioun, vnder the payne of ane key of het yrne one thair cheekis and banysene of the toune."[1]

As Sir James Simpson[2] has pointed out, this Aberdeen edict has an interest apart from its being the earliest notice of the presence of syphilis in Scotland. Before 1500 no medical writer on the subject had even hinted that it had any connection with the "syne of venerie." Yet, here in this northern Scottish burgh, the astute municipal authorities had anticipated conclusions subsequently come to by the faculty. Six months after the Aberdeen edict the Scottish Privy Council issued the oft-quoted "Grangore Act," which ordained all the inhabitants of Edinburgh affected with the disease to pass out of the town and to appear upon the sands of Leith on a stated day and hour, thence to be conveyed by boat to the island of Inchkeith.[3] In this next year, if not earlier, the disease appears to have shown itself in Glasgow. In the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, 1497-98, occurs the following entry of payment by the King (James IV.):—"*Item* the xxij day of Februar giffen to the seke folk in the grangore at the tounn end of Glasgo ij*s*."[4]

There may be other notices of the presence of the disease in Glasgow before 1592, but we have not met with them. In that year a minute of the Kirk Session directs "that the hous beyont the Stable Grein Port[5] for women affectit with the Glengore be looked efter." We gather from this that the method adopted to stop the spread of the disease was the same as had been put in force for leprosy. But this attempt at seclusion, which had been unavailingly tried in Edinburgh by the Grandgore Act of 1497,

[1] *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen*, Vol. I. 425.
[2] *Antiquarian Essays*, 1872, II. 326.
[3] Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*, 260.
[4] Simpson's *op. cit.*, II. 310.
[5] This port was near the wall surrounding the Castle Garden.

would appear to show that the Glasgow authorities had failed to learn what the long-headed Aberdonians had rightly inferred as to its mode of propagation almost a century earlier. That the Glasgow burghers were much perplexed on the subject is evident from a minute of the Session of 17th April, 1600. It states that "after the morning preaching the Session consulted how the infection of the glengore within the city may be removed. Some sent to the Council to deplore the infection that's in this city by the Glengore, and some to convene again in the Blackfriars Kirk anent it, and the whole chirurgeons and professors of medicine to be present. So much was given to a man for bigging a lodge without the Stable Green Port to the women that hath the glengore."[1] The alarm seems rapidly to have reached the Town Council, as we learn from the minute of 3rd May, a fortnight later. "The provest, baillies, and counsale hes appoyntit Weddinsdye nixt efter the preiching to convein thameselffis for taking tryall of the inhabitantis anent the greit suspicioune of sindry persones infectit with the glengoir, quilk, gif it be nocht preventit will endanger the haill toune, and hes ordanit the haill chirurgiones to be warnit to that effect to compeir in the Greyfreir Kirk and qu'haever beis warnit [and comes nocht] to pay fyve li of vnlaw." What the result of this combined assault of the powers, ecclesiastical and civil, may have been does not appear. More well-directed measures than quarantine would probably be needed to banish this particular plague from the burgh. The town's surgeon, Mr. Peter Lowe, had, four years earlier, written a book on the disease which he had called "The Spanish Sicknes." Possibly his large experience in treating "Spaniards and French, both men and women, of divers temperatures, who had often been treated both in Spain, Lowe Countries, and Fraunce," and whom, he says, he had cured "by the help of God and my confection," may have had some effect, if not in staying the plague, in robbing it of some of its terrors.

This brief glance at Old Glasgow, its sanitary defects and epidemiology, will serve to show that neither as regards hygiene nor morals was it in a very satisfactory condition. Notwithstanding the undoubted energy and zeal of its municipal rulers, it was the frequent haunt of diseases begotten of filth and disregard of sanitary laws; and despite the exacting rigour of its puritanism, and the terrors of Kirk discipline, it was not without its dark social plague-spots. Licence of many kinds was common, from the amazingly frequent misuse of the tongue for vilification, to that of the hands for physical violence. The old Glaswegians were indeed a turbulent race. A burgh law, which enacted that every booth-keeper should have in readiness within his booth "ane halbert jak and steill bonnet for eschewing"—so the ordinance euphemistically puts it—"sic inconvenients as may happen,"[2] casts a lurid light on the lawless condition of the populace. It was not without adequate

[1] *Glasgow Ancient and Modern*, I. 131. [2] *Burgh Records, Maitland Club*, 18.

reason that clergymen went armed to the pulpit,[1] in which their great influence was not always exerted in the cause of peace and order. The power of the Kirk was great, and the behests of the body called the "General Session" exacting and inquisitorial to an almost incredible degree. Yet it must be admitted that though the ecclesiastical yoke was almost intolerably heavy, such a power as was wielded by the Kirk was perhaps, on a broad view, beneficial.

It need only further be said that the various craftsmen of the burgh were associated into incorporations by charters from the Town Council, some of them dating back to the fifteenth century and possibly earlier. The craftsmen had suffered greatly from the long-continued civil wars, and the Scottish court had made efforts to recruit their ranks from France, Flanders, and other places.

For the purpose of this sketch, Glasgow at the end of the sixteenth century may be regarded as a town of great antiquity, of no great size, and in point of civic status inferior to several of the royal burghs around it. It had, however, a Cathedral of great age and architectural beauty, around which had gathered old traditions; a University dating back to 1450, with such a well-earned reputation for good work done that Melville could write in his *Diary*, "There was no place comparable to Glasgow for guid letters during these years, for a plentiful guid cheap mercat for all kind of languages, artes, and siences." But the University had no medical faculty or medical chairs—except for a few years, when it could boast one solitary professor—for more than a century after Melville wrote.

[1] Thus it appears from the Records of the Presbytery for 1587 that Mr. David Wemyss, father-in-law of Dr. Peter Lowe, being attacked on the street when coming from the church, "in fear of his life cast his goun over his arm and *drew his quhingear* in his defence. Eventually another clergyman, the parson of Renfrew, joined in the fray, the latter also drawing his 'quhingear.' The two clerics defeated the attacking party" (Macgeorge's *Old Glasgow*, 204).

CHAPTER III

EARLY GLASGOW MEDICINERS

THERE is no reason to believe that the state of the medical profession in Glasgow in the latter part of the sixteenth century materially differed from that already described as characteristic of Scotland generally (Chap. I.) The regular practitioners, as has been explained, consisted of a very small number of physicians, with barber-surgeons, and also a few surgeons who were not barbers. In all, they formed only a little band, and the encouragement they received appears to have been in the same proportion. Glasgow had then few attractions for a medical man. The royal burghs, and especially those of them, such as Edinburgh and Stirling, favoured as royal residences, doubtless presented better inducements for ambitious men. Hence it happened that practitioners who had settled in Glasgow were very often attracted elsewhere. To compensate for the scanty inducements from ordinary practice, the civic authorities of Glasgow, like those of some other towns, at an early period began to offer salaries or "pensions" to doctors whom they invited to settle in the place. It does not appear when this device was first hit upon in Glasgow. Here is a minute of the Town Council, of 17th May, 1577:—"The prouest, baillies, and counsale understandand the supplicatioun gewin in be Allexander Hay, chirurgiane, quhairby he is myndit to remane in the towne, being in redynes for serwing of the towne in his craft and art, thairfoir for his support thai haif grantit, as be thir presentis grantis ane yeirlie pensioun to him of ten markis money yeirlie, to be payit be the thesaurare of the towne for the tyme, in tymes cuming during thair willis and his guid serwice and bering, begynnand the first payment fra the thesaurar in the threscoir sewintene yeris; and attour the said Allexander for serwice bigane is maid burges and freman of the burght and citie of Glasgw, and hes gewin his aitht of fidelitie to the towne and for obserwing of the statutis thairof, and sall paye na maner of taxt in tyme cwming, conforme to the preuilege haid be vmquhile James Abernethie his maister." The precaution of pensioning only *ad culpam* was not quite

unwarranted. Thus we find from the Records of the Town Council for 3rd June, 1589, that Thomas Myln, a salaried surgeon, was brought up before the Council for speaking "sclanderouslie of the town [calling it the] hungrie toun of Glasgw." The irate surgeon doubtless spoke from the depths of his experience. But the good name of the city was a point on which the magistrates were as excessively touchy as they were on that of their own official dignity. Heinous then was the offence and condign the punishment. The culprit was ordained to appear at the Cross, confess his fault, and forfeit his pension for one year, or longer if the magistrates thought fit. Small consolation would it be to the starving surgeon to know that his confiscated pension was to go to the improvement of the burgh—even though the "bigging of thair calsay" (paving of the street) to which it was to be allocated might after all conduce as much to the health of the lieges as would the suspended surgeon's plasters and medicaments. In the seventeenth century the municipal authorities not only subsidized a surgeon, but for a considerable period they also in the same way assisted a physician; while the city "stone cutter," a functionary to whom we shall advert in a subsequent chapter, apparently drew his pension after those of the other two had been stopped.

It was in 1684 that the stoppage occurred, the cause of abandoning the practice of paying a "retaining" salary being the impecunious state of the burgh exchequer from debt at the time.[1] Provision was, however, made for necessitous cases by the magistrates having power to employ for these any practitioner they might select. In the exercise of their discretion the magistrates must have been pretty liberal in their reading of a provision intended for the poor. Thus in August, 1685, it is recorded: "The said day ordains the thesaurer to pay John Hall, younger, Chirurgian, the soum of fourty pounds Scots for cureing of James Hamilton, son to vmqll James Hamilton, wryter, of ane whyte scabbed head being ordained to be cured be the provest." There is another entry on the same day less liable to exception. "The same ordains the thesaurer to pay John Hall, elder, the soum of fyfty-fyve pounds two shillings Scots, for dressing the lait Argyle, Rumhold, Mr. Thomas Archer, Mr. Lockhart, and ane poor Dutchman, the tyme they wer prisoners in the tolbwoth, being all wounded."

At the end of the sixteenth century the number of surgeons practising in the town did not probably exceed half-a-dozen, and there is only evidence of the presence of one physician, though the plural is sometimes used. There were, however, in addition at least two midwives, and it is presumed that the whole of the obstetric practice of the burgh, except that of difficult cases, was in their hands. It was not till the first half of the eighteenth century that man-midwifery, as part of ordinary practice, became common, though surgeons such as Guillemeau wrote on the subject. The learned Astruc

[1] *Glasgow Memorabilia*, 248.

could find no instance earlier than 1663.[1] Where the Glasgow midwives got their training at that time does not appear, but that their morals were looked after by the Kirk there is evidence to prove. Thus, from the Records of the Presbytery, 4th April, 1589, we learn that one Kate Freland was summoned before that body, "to assr. for her professioun to be ane midwyfe, qlk hes not been knawin wtin ye toun and citie of Glasgow to ye inhabitatis yair, and to underly ye [censure?] of ye Kirk according to her demerites." It further appears that the special interest of the ecclesiastical authorities in the midwives lay in the fact that under certain circumstances they were called on to perform one of the ordinary functions of the minister. Thus, by minute of 8th February, 1599, the midwives are "dischargit to go to any unmarried woman, within, while first they signify the matter to some of the ministeris in the day-licht, and if it be in the nicht time that they take the aiths o the said woman before they bear the bairne wha is the fayther of it, as they will be answerable to God and the Kirk."[2]

This was the state of matters medical in the burgh at the end of the sixteenth century. It was far from satisfactory. There was no authority accredited to inquire into the fitness of any practitioner. Every man was a law unto himself, and ignorant pretenders flourished. Things appeared to have come to such a pass about two years before the end of the century that the ruling powers felt that something must be done. The Kirk was the first to move in the interests of reform. From a minute of the Session of 14th September, 1598, it appears that body thought it right that the University, Ministers, and Presbytery "take cognition who are within the town that pretend to have skill in medicine and hath not the same; that those who have skill be retained and others rejected." A deputation was accordingly sent to the Council to make a representation.[3] The civic authorities seem to have been a little slow to respond to the stimulus; but at last on April 14, 1599, we come upon the following minute of the Council: "The provest, bailleis, and counsale, at desyre of the sessione, ministrie, and elderis thairof, being informit of mediciners and chyrurgianes quha dayele resortis and remanis within this towne, and ar not able to discharge thair dewtey thairintill, in respect thai have not cunyng nor skill to do the same, and for evading of inconuenientis that may follow thairupon, hes deput and assignit thir persones onderwrittin of the counsale to

[1] The confinement was that of Mlle. de la Valière. To secure concealment she is said to have called in Julian Clement, an eminent surgeon. The story goes that he was secretly conducted to the house, where the lady lay covering her face with a hood, the king being concealed behind the curtains. The fashion thus clandestinely begun gradually spread over Western Europe. Witkowski (*Les Accouchements à la Cour.*, 188) gives another version of the story and dates man-midwifery half a century earlier.

[2] *Glasgow, Ancient and Modern*, I. 131. [3] *Ibid.*, I. 131.

concur and assist the ministrie, certane of the sessione, and vtheris cunyng men of that arte, to examinat and tak tryall of all sic persounes as vsit or sal happin to vse the said arte within this towne in tyme cumyng, and with thair advyis and consent to tak the tryall thairof, viz. the thrie bailleis, James Forret, Alexander Baillie, and Thomas Pettigrew, to convein with thir persones of the ministrie, viz. the thrie ministeris, the principall, Mr. Blais Lowery, and Mr. John Blakburne, wpon Weddinsdye nixt eftir the preiching in the Blakfreir Kirk, and to reporte."[1]

This was the first medical examining board in Glasgow, if indeed it ever acted, for there appears no published evidence that it reported. What might be the special qualifications of three bailies, three clergymen, the principal, and one of the regents of the University, and the master of the grammar school (the last three being also clergymen), to test the professional skill of practitioners of medicine, the Records say not. Doubtless the persons described as "vtheris cunyng men of that arte" were intended to do the work, and that the co-operation of lay assessors occupying official positions should throw some semblance of authority over the board thus improvised. Whence arose this new-born zeal for medical reform? One coincidence cannot be overlooked. This activity followed hard upon the settlement in Glasgow of an eminent man "cunyng in that arte," Dr. Peter Lowe. The conjecture is therefore probably not very far wrong that the quickened sense of medical misrule in Glasgow all at once manifested on the part of the powers of Kirk and State was mainly due to the representations and remonstrances of that gentleman. As will be seen in the next chapter, he made at this time a strong representation to the Scottish Court on the subject, with the result of obtaining a royal gift accrediting him to set matters right. That charter is prefaced by a sentence in which the existing state of things was painted in bold colours. "Understanding the grit abuisis quhilk hes bene comitted in time bigane und zit daylie continuis be ignorant unskillit and unlernit personis, quha, under the collour of Chirurgeanis, abuisis the people to their plesure, passing away but [without] tryel or punishment and thairby destroyis infinite number of our subjectis." A formula of this kind appears in most of the early medical charters; but there is no reason to suppose that the picture was overdrawn, as there is evidence that the country was over-run by ignorant pretenders, and that lives were frequently sacrificed through their treatment. The popular ideas in regard to medicine were deeply coloured by superstition. The powerlessness of ordinary medicaments in the presence of disease attributed to the operation of witchcraft and the powers of evil was fully recognized long after the period under review.

Such was the condition of the medical profession in Glasgow, and generally in the West of Scotland, on the advent of Dr. Peter Lowe from France at the end of the sixteenth century.

[1] *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow*, 1573-1642, 192.

CHAPTER IV

DR. PETER LOWE

THE following is an excerpt from the Minutes of the Town Council of Glasgow, 17th March, 1599:—

"It is aggreit of new and contractit betuix the towne and Doctor Low for iiij^{xx} merkis money be yeir."

This minute implies a former agreement, probably a year earlier, which would mark the arrival of Dr. Peter Lowe in Glasgow about the beginning of 1598, though it may have been a few months before this date.

Of the date and place of his birth nothing has been ascertained. The hypothesis discussed by Dr. James Finlayson in his admirable Memoir,[1] that he was a native of Errol,[2] from his use of the title "Arellian," is probably as wide of the mark as Astruc's half contemptuous suggestion, made from the same premiss nearly a century and a half earlier, that Ayr was his place of origin. The fact of his selecting Glasgow for his residence when he returned from the Continent raises some kind of presumption that he belonged to the West of Scotland; but that is all that can be said. Of his nationality he has left us in no doubt, the word "Scottishman," or "Scotchman," being affixed by him to his name almost as often as he has occasion to repeat it. The prefix "Mr.," which appears as part of his signature, betokens that he was a Master of Arts; but of what university is not known. It is not easy to say whether his knowledge of the ancient classical languages was scholarly; but his writings, at all events, abound in exact references to classical authors. His translation of the Presages of Hippocrates may have been, and probably was, made at second hand through the French; and his original writings are in the vernacular. But there can be no doubt that he was a man well educated for the time in which he

[1] *Account of the Life and Works of Maister Peter Lowe.* Glasgow, 1889, 56, etc.

[2] It must, however, be admitted that it was not an uncommon practice for authors to append to their names an adjective indicating the place of birth.

lived. In the first edition of his *Chirurgerie* he gave a preface in Latin, possibly to show that though he wrote in English it was not from want of ability to use the learned tongue.

He probably left Scotland for the Continent some time after the middle of the sixteenth century, that is, about the era of the Scottish Reformation. In a brief autobiographical scrap in his Address, "To the Friendlie Reader," prefixed to the second edition of his *Chirurgerie*, he speaks in the style of writers of the day, which was not usually characterized by any lack of self-appreciation or of out-spoken expression of it. "But I impart to you my labours, hidded secrets, and experients by me practised and dayly put in vse, to the great comfort, ease, and delight of you, and such as haue had occasion to vse my helpe in France, Flaunders, and elsewhere, the space of 22 yeeres; thereafter being Chirurgian maior to the Spanish Regiments at Paris, 2 yeeres; next following the French King, my Master, in the warres 6 yeeres, where I made commoditie to practise all points and operations of Chirurgerie." This would give thirty years for his career as a surgeon on the Continent. The only statement in this passage which involves a date is that relating to the Spanish regiment in Paris. The Spaniards sent assistance to the famous Catholic League organized by the Guise party; and after the death of Henry III. the Spanish regiments assisted to hold Paris in 1588-90 against Henry IV.

That this was the period of his serving as surgeon-major in the Spanish army is confirmed by another passage in his *Chirurgerie*, in which, speaking of a case of aneurism in the neck of "one of the chiefest captaines amongst the Spaniards at Paris," in 1590, he uses the word, "I, a Chyrurgion-maior to the regiment."[1] In another passage he speaks of himself as an eye-witness of some of the horrors attending one of the numerous sieges which Paris underwent during these two years. From this date, then, as an ascertained standpoint, we can fix the period of his wanderings as a surgeon on the Continent as beginning about 1566 and ending about 1596. During all these thirty years France was a prey to fierce intestine religious wars. The period included such memorable historical epochs as the Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the Revolt of the Netherlands. There could certainly be no period better fitted for a military surgeon finding "commoditie to practise all points and operations" of surgery. But this little bit of autobiography suggests one or two questions which it does not help us to resolve. One would like to know, for example, whether the side on which the Scottish surgeon was found is a correct indication of his religious persuasion at that time. That he was at that period a Catholic is very probable. Professional offices in those days of embittered religious strife would hardly be bestowed or received independent of creed. The Reformation could have been little more than begun in Scotland when he left his native country;

[1] 2nd Edition, Lib. v., cap. 41, 217.

and it is not likely that a heretic officer would be found serving in the ranks of the Catholic League. Even the high professional services of Lowe's great contemporary, Ambroise Paré, who was a Protestant,[1] did not save him, it is said, from being marked for death at the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and, as the story goes, he only escaped by the king locking him up all night in his wardrobe. How Dr. Lowe managed to change sides about 1590, when he must have taken office under Henry IV., and whether the change indicates a corresponding veering round as to his religious persuasion, these are points on which we can only speculate.

In the army of Henri le Grand he seems to have attained some degree of rank, though the title he assumes, "ordinary Chyrurgeon to the French King and Navarre," was probably only an honorary military title, equivalent to similar distinctions occasionally bestowed now on retired military medical officers in this country. Matthias calls him 'primarius Chirurgus Castrensis";[2] but this is probably merely a free translation of Lowe's "Chyrurgeon Major." The value which he attached to this distinction may be inferred from the fact that he uses it in the title page of his *Chirurgerie*; while of the corresponding honours subsequently bestowed upon him by the Scottish Court he appears to make no mention in the book.[3]

Before turning from Dr. Lowe's continental career, a word or two must be said on what we would now call his professional "qualifications," using the term in its technical sense. In the title page of the books he published in London in 1596 and the following year, and in the headings of some of the chapters of one of them, he calls himself Peter Lowe, *Arellian*. What the meaning of this word may be is a perfect puzzle. It is sometimes separated by a point from the title following, viz., "Doctor in the Facultie of Chirurgerie in Paris"; but in other places it is not so disjoined. This last circumstance might lead to the presumption that it was an adjunct qualifying or having reference to the "Doctor"; but this seems disproved by its standing alone in other places. The suggestion that it denotes his place of birth seems the most improbable of all the conjectures made regarding it. In the *Chirurgerie* it follows the word "Scotchman," or "Scottishman," thus reversing the natural order of connotation from the particular to the more general. Astruc's suggestion that it possibly stood for the town of "Ayr" is wild on the face of it, and was perhaps only half seriously made.[4]

[1] The question whether he was a Huguenot has, however, been keenly contested. See *Dechambre's Diction. de Méd.*, 2 Ser. 21. 134.

[2] *Conspectus Historiae Medicorum Chronologicus*, 378.

[3] Dr. Finlayson, however, conjectures that these may have lapsed on the removal of the Scottish king to London in 1603.

[4] "Petrus Lowæ Scotus, Arellianus (quod vocabulum non satis video quid valeat, nisi forté significet Auctorem hunc oriundum esse ex urbe *Ayre* quæ caput est comitatus cognominis in Scotia). . . ." (*De Morbis Venereis*, editio secunda, Veneta, 1748, II. 283.)

Whatever the word meant, it would appear from its position, and his repeated use of it, that it was a title which he thought would reflect credit on his name as a surgeon; and, in the case of a book published in London, it seems absurd to suppose that any honour could accrue to the author from his parading his natal connection with a town or village in Scotland. By far the most feasible explanation is that put forward by Dr. A. Dureau, who in 1877 was Librarian of the Paris Academy of Medicine, that by Arellian Lowe meant Medicus Aurelianus (*Orléanais*), that is, medical man trained at the School of Orleans. That Lowe's name is found in some manuscript registers at Orleans, dated 1596, Dr. Dureau states from personal inspection.[1]

The distinction of having been trained at a Medical School would of itself have marked him as a gown-surgeon, and put him on a higher platform than the barber-surgeon, and therefore was something which he could legitimately use as a meritorious affix to his name. This would also be in perfect keeping with the other professional title that follows it in his books, which we shall presently discuss. It need hardly be said that the difference in spelling between "Arellian" and "Aurelianus" counts for little as an objection to this theory, in view of the fluid condition of orthography even considerably after this period. The title is dropped in the second edition of Lowe's *Chirurgerie*, published in 1612. Possibly by that time he may have found that the term was not understood, and he may have thought that the dictum "omne ignotum pro magnifico" did not hold good of enigmatical titles.[2]

Immediately following the title "Arellian" in his earlier memoirs, and also used in the second edition of his Surgery, published in 1612, is the title, "Doctor in the Facultie of Chirurgerie in (or at) Paris." If Lowe has, no doubt unintentionally, mystified the modern reader by using the former title, he has also brought on himself the charge of presumption, and even ineptitude, in the use of the latter. The hostile critic is Astruc, the eminent French physician and writer.[3] But Astruc was a very prejudiced judge on such a point. This is evident from the fact that he practically treats the

[1] "Arellian veut dire Orléanais, Peter Lowe était médecin du College d' Orléans (*medicus Aurelianus*). Je le trouve porté sur plusieurs registres manuscrits de 1596 que j'ai feuilletés moi-même à Orléans. Il est bon que vous sachiez que cette ancienne école de médecine a reçu bon nombre de médecins anglais. Donc il n'y a pas de doute à cet égard." Letter of Dr. Dureau, 8th March, 1877. (Finlayson's *Maister Peter Lowe*, 70.)

[2] For a full discussion of this question the reader is referred to Dr Finlayson's Memoir.

[3] Petrus Lowæ . . . se ipse vocat Doctorem in Facultate Chirurgiæ Parisiensi, arroganter sane, ne dicam inepte, cum nulla sit Lutetiæ Parisiorum, fueritve unquam Facultas Chirurgiæ, sed Communitas tantum Magistrorum Chirurgorum: Communitas illa doctores nullos creet, creaveritve olim, sed Juratos tantum magistros Chirurgiæ ut in ceteris Europæ civitatibus solenne est. (Astruc, *op. cit.*, II. 283.)

claim as if it were only personal on Lowe's part, and one never before advanced. He must have known that the assumption of the title was not the claim of a single individual, but had been urged as a right in behalf of a body. The College of sworn Master Surgeons of Paris, the members of which were known as "surgeons of the long robe," to distinguish them from the barber-surgeons, who were "surgeons of the short robe," dated back to 1226. From the name of their patron saint, near to whose church was their hall in Paris, the fraternity was often called the College of St. Côme. We cannot, however, trace the history of this institution, and its famous quarrels with the Faculty of Medicine. Suffice it to say, that one of the main grounds of contention between the two bodies was the assumption of academic status on behalf of the surgeons. Astruc can hardly have been unaware that, as a consequence of this assumption, their claim was put boldly forward to rank as a Faculty of Surgery co-ordinate with the Faculty of Medicine, and for their members to be Doctors of a Faculty as well as Maîtres of the College.[1] The Faculty of Medicine, on the other hand, of which Astruc was a leading member, desired to reign supreme in the whole domain of the profession of the healing art, of which surgery was to be regarded in the light of a mechanical appanage. The surgeons might attend the University lectures, but any more intimate connection was to be disallowed. Their ranks and titles were not to be regarded as University degrees. To these, what seemed to them overbearing pretensions of the physicians, the surgeons opposed an undaunted front. Had not their claims to academic rank been recognized by King and Parliament; and, as a crowning sanction, had they not received the benediction of the Chancellor? This was the view taken by at least the most aggressive of the surgeons; and amongst this class of them Lowe may perhaps be ranked. Whether he would have used such a title if he had published his book in Paris is a matter on which we can only speculate. But it is evident he had no mind to lower the flag of his College amongst his compatriots at home.

Having spent the best part of his life in foreign service, he had earned a good right to come back to his native land. The return to Britain was probably in 1596, when his six years as a surgeon to Henry IV. would be terminated. In that year his *Spanish Sicknes* was published in London, and in the following year his *Chirurgerie* appeared, being dated from London, the 20th of April, 1597. The materials for these and other works had been collected before he came to this country. As already stated, he probably made his appearance in Glasgow about the early part of 1598, and was engaged by the town, whether before or after his advent in it does not appear, as salaried or pensioned surgeon. In a medical

[1] "Recherches critiques et historiques sur l'origine, sur les divers états, et sur les progrès de la Chirurgie en France," 69, 72, 227, etc. Paris, 1744.

aspect the change from the Seine to the Clyde must have been immense. To a person familiar with the organization of the profession under two corporate bodies, the medical aspect of the Scottish burgh must have been sufficiently uninviting. The state of his surroundings generally, the rudeness of manners, society everywhere dominated by a stern ecclesiastical despotism, must have struck him as strange. Curiously enough, it was with the high and mighty power of the Kirk that he appears to have come early into collision. The following is a minute of the Presbytery of 8th August, 1598: "The Presbeteri orderis Mr. Peter Lowe, Doctor of Chirurgerie to be convenit before ye Sessioun, thair to āsser for his ētrie on ye Piller,[1] not having satisfyed ye Thesaurer of ye Kirk, and w'out his instructions, and not behaving him on ye piller as becumes, and furder to mak as yet two Sondayes his repētance on ye Piller, and first to satisfie ye Thesaurer, as ye said Sessioun hes ordenit him to do." What the original offence was which rendered him liable to ecclesiastical discipline we are not told. It must have been trifling in its nature, otherwise the penalty would have been different. The sin of incontinence was usually punished by imprisonment in the Blackfriars Steeple for eight days, with bread and water diet, followed by exposure for one day in the cockstool, and one day in the pillar, in addition to a money fine. But even for such sins of the flesh there was considerable inequality and partiality in the penalties. If the offender were an ex-Provost, like the Laird of Minto, the payment of a fine was occasionally deemed adequate.[2] But in the present instance, whatever the original peccadillo, we gather from the minute that the Doctor had been condemned to the pillar, and further mulcted in a compulsory contribution to the Kirk funds. Of the first part of the punishment he had apparently made fun, and the fine remained unpaid. Whether he ever "made his repentance, as ordanit," and, if he did, whether on the second occasion the merry Doctor "behaved him as becumes," and even whether, as a preliminary step, he contrived "to satisfie ye Thesaurer," are questions on which the defective records throw no light. Doubtless long residence on the Continent, with so many of these years passed in camps, had impressed on his manners a freedom which would ill accord with rigid Presbyterian notions of decorum.

[1] "The pillar was an institution more closely allied to the cutty stool than the maister stool was. No authoritative explanation or description of what the pillar was seems to be forthcoming. But it must have been some sort of erection inside the church, at which the sorrowful penitent had to stand—frequently clad in sackcloth—during public worship; and perhaps it was designed as a punishment for a more serious class of offences than the cutty stool. To have to stand during the protracted services of olden times must indeed have been a tax of no ordinary kind upon the patience and physical endurance of even a hardened sinner." (Writer in the *Glasgow Herald*, February, 1895.)

[2] "Buttock Mail" was the fine exacted as commutation for public satisfaction in cases of the kind.

But in a few months after this incident, we find indications of his presence in Glasgow more in keeping with his position and reputation as a surgeon. We have already seen[1] that a movement towards medical reform in the town, originating with the Kirk Session in September, 1598, was taken up by the municipal authorities in April, 1599, with the result that a sort of Medical Examining Board was improvised to test the qualifications of all who in time to come should practise within the city. That Lowe was the man who inspired this movement cannot be doubted; and his efforts in the direction of rectifying abuses were not confined to the town magnates, ecclesiastical and civil. It must have been about the same time that he memorialized the king, James VI., on the subject. In the second edition of his *Chirurgerie*, dated from Glasgow, 20th December, 1612, he writes: "It pleased his Sacred Majestie to heare my complaint about some fowerteene yeeres agoe vpon certaine abusers of our Art, of diuers sorts and ranks of people, whereof we haue good store, and all things fayling, vnthrifts and Idle people doe commonly meddle themselues with our Art, who ordinarily doe passe without either tryall or punishment. The matter being considered, and the abuse waighed by his Maiestie and Honourable councell, thought not to be tolerated, for the which I got a priuiledge vnder his highnes priue seale, to try and examine all men upon the Art of Chirurgerie, to discharge, and allow in the West parts of Scotland, who were worthy or vnworthy, to professe the same."

Such was the origin of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow as narrated by the founder. The provisions of the charter, dated Penult. November, 1599, will be discussed in the next chapter; but in this we follow the personal history of Lowe. On obtaining the charter, his first care was to advise the Town Council of the grant, in view of the fact that on the magistrates of Glasgow would chiefly fall the duty "to assist, fortifye, concur, and defend," as the charter bears, the body it created. The minute of the Town Council, 9th February, 1600, is as follows: "The provest bailleis, and counsale, viz., Thomas Muir [and eleven others] present, haueand inspectioune and advyseand with the priuilegeis and statutes of our Souerane Lordis letter of gift and faculte grantit to maister Petir Low, Chyrurgian, maister Robert Hammiltoune, and William Spang, and thair successouris, professouris of thair artes, touching the liberte of thair artes, grantit be his Maiestie to thaime and thair Successouris, as in the said letter of gift vnder the privey seale at lenthe beris, hes promesit to hold, haue, concur, fortifie, and menteine thame and thair successouris and liberteis grantit to thame in the same in all poyntis in tyme cuming: provyding that the same nor na actis that thai salhappin to mak salbe preiudiciall nor hurtfull to the commouneweil and liberte of the towne."[2] But notwithstanding this promptitude in obtaining

[1] P. 19.

[2] *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow*, 1876, 202.

municipal ratification at the outset, no other immediate steps seem to have been taken to properly launch the new institution. Possibly enough Lowe was not at this time quite satisfied with the materials at hand for constituting the "successors in office" of himself and Dr. Robert Hamilton, the grantees named in the charter. In the meantime these two, without any other assistance than that of William Spang, the apothecary also mentioned in the charter, could carry its provisions into effect. In the next year the absence of Dr. Lowe from Glasgow would prevent any steps being taken in the matter.

In 1601, Ludovick, Duke of Lennox, Lord Great Chamberlain of Scotland, and feudal Superior of Glasgow, was appointed special ambassador for the Scottish king at the Court of France. To form a fitting retinue, a number of gentlemen were asked to accompany him, and, among others, Dr. Peter Lowe, probably as surgeon or medical officer of the embassy. The chaplain was Rev. John Spottiswoode, parson of Calder, and two years afterwards promoted to be Archbishop of Glasgow. It will be noted from the subjoined minute of the Town Council that the leave of absence asked from the Council on behalf of Dr. Lowe, as Town's Surgeon, was granted, his salary being continued during his absence: "18 June, 1601. The baillie and counsale present, at the special requeist and desyre of my Lorde Duikis grace, hes licenciat and gevis licence to maister Peitir Low, chyrurgian, to pas in company with my Lorde Duike as ambassadour appoyntit to France, and dispensis with his absence and not remanyng of the said maister Peitir, and that he may injoy his pensione of the towne, and that quhill the xi. of November nixtocum, but preiudice of his contract in caice of his returnyng or soner at the said tyme as sal happin his lordschip to returne."[1]

The Duke and his cortège embarked at Leith, 10th July, 1601. It was merely an embassy of royal courtesy such as in these days was not uncommon. From a letter written by the French king in October of that year, we gather that the embassy remained at Court only a few days; though from another source it appears that Lennox did not return to Scotland till 1604. Dr. Lowe was probably in Glasgow by the time his leave of absence expired; and in the following summer (1602), as will appear from next chapter, he took steps, along with Dr. Robert Hamilton, his co-grantee in the charter, to formally hand over the powers vested in them by the gift to those whom they had nominated for the purpose. It is somewhat singular that, having thus divested himself of his powers as original grantee, he never resumed or was elected to the chief office of the body thus constituted. But whatever the reasons may have been for this, they did not operate as regards his accepting and filling a subordinate office. For several years in succession he was regularly elected a "quartermaster," or collector of the quarterly accounts; and when the sederunt of the meetings

[1] *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow*, 1876, 222.

is stated, he is generally found present. The last occasion on which his name appears was on the 22nd September, 1609, when he was re-elected quartermaster.

During the early years of the seventeenth century Dr. Lowe's position as a surgeon must have been the best in Glasgow and the West of Scotland. That he was looked upon in the community as a man of probity and good social position is shown by his having been appointed, in 1604, one of the commissioners to settle a dispute which had arisen between the Merchants' House and the Trades' House or Craftsmen. The result of the arbitration of this commission was the Letter of Guildry, dated 6th February, 1605, under which the Merchants' House and the City Incorporations are still constituted. Only two other notices of him in the Town Council Records have been printed, and probably no more exist. In the accounts for 1608 it is entered, "Gifin upone the last day of August, to Mr. Petir Lou, chyrurgin, for his pensioun in Anno 1608, addedit be the toun to him, conforme to ane warrand, liii*£* vi*s.* viii*d.*" Two years later we come on a minute regarding him, dated 26th May, 1610,[1] which need not be quoted in full, but the essential part is here given. "The said James Braidwod debursit and gaif furth the said sowme ['fourtie poundis money'] to maister Petir Low, pairtlie for his fey and pairtlie for the expensis maid be him in bowelling of the lard of Howstoun, lait provest; thairfoir the said James be this present act is dischargit of the said sowme resauit be him as said is, and siklyke ordanis ane warrand to be direct to Robert Hogisyard, thesaurer, vnder subscriptioun of the clerk, to ansuer Mareoun Steward of the sowme of xxxvij li xs as for wyne and vthir expenssis furnist and maid be hir the tyme of the said provestis bowelling." The minute requires a word of explanation. Why it was that the defunct Sir John Houston, late Provost of Glasgow, was not allowed to sleep with his fathers without being subjected to the procedure of "bowelling"; in what that process consisted; and why in connection therewith there was incurred such a considerable bill for wine and other *et ceteras*, as if the occasion had been something of a gaudeamus or an Irish wake—these are points on which the minute quoted throws no light. At this period the provosts of Glasgow were selected from the magnates of the surrounding district, who were willing to accept the position of chief magistrate on account of the increased consideration with which such a dignity invested them. To the burgh, on the other hand, the arrangement was of advantage in conferring enhanced importance and greater security; and the Town Council were in the habit of making acknowledgment by occasional gifts to their chief magistrate, often apparently at great expense. The quantity of wine, etc., in this way "propyned" to my Lord Provost and others in respect of services rendered or expected, was something phenomenal.

[1] *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow*, 1876, 314.

It is to be hoped that the post-mortem attentions paid to the laird of Houston by the Council were not by way of compounding for neglect or inadequate appreciation of him in the way of "propynes," while living. The process of embalming, which a prosaic town clerk has most inadequately designated by the term "bowelling"—albeit a term once made use of by Dr. Lowe himself[1]—seems not to have been very uncommon in these days, especially in France and London, though in Scotland it was not so often practised. Ambroise Paré, the famous French surgeon, devotes a section of his *Surgery* to its description; Lowe himself has a chapter on the procedure in his *Chirurgerie*, and anyone reading it will see for what purpose the wine of Marion Steward, who by the way appears to have been the purveyor of municipal banquets of the day,[2] was needed.

This curious minute appears to be the last which has been published in the city records referring to Dr. Lowe. He must now have been a man well advanced in years. As to the period of his death we have conflicting testimony. At the head of his tombstone in the High Churchyard is inscribed the year 1612, and this has usually been accepted by local historians as the date of his death. On the other hand, the second edition of his *Chirurgerie* bears to be dated "from my own house in Glasgow, 20th day of December, 1612," leaving only a margin of ten days in which the death must apparently have occurred. From France we have evidence which, if it could be relied upon, would fix the date with exactitude. This is contained in the "Index Funereus Chirurgorum Parisiensium, ab anno 1315 ad annum 1729," being the death-roll of the members of the Confrairy of Surgeons of Paris, which, as already stated, was Lowe's College: "Petrus Louvet, Scotus, Medico-Chirurgus præstantissimus obiit 30 Junii anni 1617." A fact stated so definitely might be presumed to be accurate, but there is conclusive evidence to show that the Paris record is in error. Dr. Lowe's widow married Mr. Walter Stirling, a Glasgow merchant. From the register of baptisms of the Kirk Session of Glasgow it appears that the eldest son of this couple was baptized 11th January, 1615. It is therefore improbable that Lowe's death happened later than 1613, and it is possible that the year on the tombstone is that of his death. The date in the Paris record is probably that on which information of the death reached the College. The reputation which he had acquired as a distinguished medical man, as a surgeon who practically recognized the relations of surgery to medicine, is sufficiently indicated by the term used regarding him in the entry of his death: "medico-chirurgus præstantissimus." The Glasgow tombstone stands against the south wall of the High Churchyard, near the entry gate to

[1] *Chirurgie*, 2nd edition, 367.

[2] On 12th December, 1605, she is ordered to be paid for a banquet "at the proveistes gudnicht quhen he past to Lundoune."

the Cathedral. When or by whom it was erected we have no information. It is the property of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow, having come into their possession in 1834 by purchase from Rev. John Hamilton Gray of Chesterfield, the eminent genealogist, whose family had acquired it in consequence of some of their descendants being also descendants of Dr. Lowe. The quaint inscription is still legible, though the stone shows too evident signs of the corroding hand of time.

1612
M
P L

IOHN LOW IAMES LOW

DOCTOR PETER LOW

THE FOUNDER OF THE FACULTY OF PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS

STAY . PASSENGER . AND . VIOW . THIS . STONE
FOR . UNDER . IT . LYIS . SUCH . A . ONE
WHO . CUIRED . MANY . WHILL . HE . LIEVED
SOE . GRACIOUS . HE . NOE . MAN . GRIEVED
YEA . WHEN . HIS . PHISICKS . FORCE . OFT . FAILED
HIS . PLESANT . PURPOSE . THEN . PREVAILED
FOR . OF . HIS . GOD . HE . GOT . THE . GRACE
TO . LIVE . IN . MIRTH . AND . DIE . IN . PEACE
HEAVIN . HES . HIS . SOUL . HIS . CORPS . THIS . STONE
SIGH . PASSENGER . AND . SOE . BE . GONE

AH ME I GRAVELL AM AND DUST
AND TO THE GRAVE DESHEND I MOST
O PAINTED PEICE OF LIVEING CLAY
MAN BE NOT PROUD OF THY SHORT DAY

In view of the fact that this tombstone was rapidly decaying, the Faculty, in 1892, resolved to erect a bronze memorial tablet to Dr. Lowe within the nave of the Cathedral. An appropriate design was made by Mr. Pittendreigh Macgillivray, the eminent sculptor, then of Glasgow, now in Edinburgh; and the epitaph on the tombstone is reproduced under the figured part of the tablet, which stands on the north wall of the nave, almost opposite the south door. This memorial tablet was unveiled by Dr. Bruce Goff, President of the Faculty, in presence of a number of the Fellows and Glasgow citizens, on the 5th April, 1895.

Dr. Lowe was married to Helen Weems (or Wemyss), daughter of the Rev. David Weems, often called the Parson of Glasgow. He was the first Protestant minister of the town and officiated in the Inner High Church (Cathedral), in the nave of which the memorial to his distinguished son-in-law now stands. The lady must have been much younger than the Doctor, whom she survived for at least forty-six years, as we find her alive in 1658. Dr. Lowe had a son, John, who is described in the public records having reference to the succession of his son to his estate in 1670, as Merchant Burgess of Glasgow.[1] The name of the son is introduced by Dr. Lowe into his *Chirurgerie* (2nd edition, 1612), along with his own, as holding a dialogue with a view to preparing the son for the Paris examination. This is, of course, a literary figment; and it is probable that the son never studied or qualified in surgery. But, layman though he probably was, he was in 1636 admitted a member of the Faculty under exceptional circumstances. There is nothing said in the minute of his admission regarding his being examined, or paying the usual entry fine. The record states that the Faculty from the "respect they had to beir towards the said unqll Mr. Peter, and the rather becaus he was the principall procurer to this vocation of ye Letters of visitation under the Privi Seale, they hev admitit the said John freman, who hes given his oath conforme to ordor: yis for ye benefit of his children." It appears, however, that he did not take his seat till 1652, when another minute records the fact; after which he attended the meetings pretty regularly. On 26th May, 1677, James Lowe, a writer in Edinburgh, son of this John Lowe, presented a memorial to the Faculty "desyring that in respect of Mr. Peter Low, his grandfay^{r}, procurer to the Faculty of the gift grantit be King James in anno 1599 To the Chirurgians of Glasgow, The faculty did in considera^{o}ne yrof, and for ther respect to him, admitt Jon low, sone to the sd Mr. Pit, and father to the supplicant, a member of the sd faculty ffor a benefit to his children in anno 1636, And sinc the sd Jon, his father, is now deceissit, They wold be pleisit to confer the same favor upon him. Qlk being considred by the members of the faculty pñt togither w^{t} the act of his fayrs admission in Junii 1636, They for the same cause, having the same vena^{o}ne for his grandfather, first procurer of ther gift of visita^{o}ne, and for the sd James his good service doon and to be doon be him to the faculty, They heirby admittit the sd James frieman w^{t} them and to have the priviledg of a member of ther faculty. Who made faith as use is." This grandson of Peter Lowe had a son Robert, also a writer in Edinburgh, who in his turn was admitted a freeman of the Faculty on 2nd October, 1721. Such membership is not to be looked upon as a mere honorary distinction. It should be more properly regarded as being, from the member's point of view, a species of insurance. In the event of the person thus admitted falling into poverty, or leaving

[1] Finlayson, *op. cit.*, 74, 75.

his children unprovided for, he, or they, would, in accordance with the practice of the Faculty and other City incorporations at that period, receive an alimentary pension. Whether, however, in these cases of admission to the membership, the sentiment of corporate veneration[1] did not somewhat outrun the powers the Faculty possessed by charter, is a question which does not appear to have troubled them. For three centuries the memory of Peter Lowe has certainly been warmly cherished by the corporation which he was the means of calling into existence.

Turning briefly to his writings the earliest, in point of time, is,—

> "An | Easie, certaine, and perfect | method, to cure and preuent the | Spanish sicknes. | Wherby the learned and skilfull Chirurgian | may heale a great many other diseases. | (. · .) | Compiled by Peter Lowe, Arellian: Doctor in the facultie | of Chirurgy in Paris; & Chirurgian ordinary to Henry the fourth, | the most Christian King of France and | Nauarre. | At London, | Printed by James Roberts. Anno | Dom. 1596."

This is a small quarto, very scarce, of forty-two pages, with a dedication "To the Right Honourable Robert Deuorax, Earle of Essex." The author half apologises for the somewhat equivocal compliment of dedicating to him a treatise "far dissonant from your studies," by telling him that he had "diuers other Bookes of Chirurgie, all of which shall be shrouded vnder your honourable shield," and explains that he had selected him in respect especially of his "rare martial exploits in ayding my dread Soueraigne and Master, the most victorious King of France."

It is not necessary here to analyze the contents. The work was published in the same year as Clowes' memoir on the same disease, which was first issued in another form in 1579. These treatises appear to be among the earliest on the subject written in English. The "Spanish Sicknes" was a disease which Dr. Lowe was, as we have already seen, to encounter in Glasgow four years after the publication of this book, under the corrupted French name of the Glengore (*Grandgore*), and which seems to have a good deal alarmed the townsfolk, lay and clerical (p. 14). The name Dr. Lowe gives it had reference to its presumed importation from the New World into Spain by the sailors of Columbus. In nomenclature, however, it was associated, as Lowe points out, with several nationalities: and although the author avers that "there are some ignorant malicious people who call it the French Sicknes, without any cause or reason," he sometimes, in the

[1] The feeling broke out again in similar fashion on two occasions. See in Roll of Members in Appendix the names of John Or, entered in 1680, and William Hastie in 1735. What the relationship to Dr. Lowe founded on in these cases was does not appear. As regards the rest of Lowe's descendants, one of them, Robert Lowe, W.S., Edinburgh, the only son of James Lowe mentioned in the text, married a daughter of John Gray of Dalmarnock and Carntyne. The issue of the marriage was a son, William Lowe, who had valuable property in America, which he lost by the American War, and who died without issue towards the end of last century; and a daughter, Annabella, who died unmarried.

second edition of his *Chirurgerie* gives it this name himself. Of his own powers to cope with it successfully he speaks with much confidence, one chief article of his armamentarium being "my Confection," or "my Electuary." It has been charged against Lowe that he does not divulge the composition of this "precious jewel" of a medicament. And this is literally true, although at the same time, doubtless in perfectly good faith, he takes credit to himself for revealing it, and lets it be known that its value made this a matter of some self-sacrifice. "Wherefore albeit it be a very precious iewell vnto me, yet for the loue that I haue to the Commonwealth I will not hide it." The truth is, that whether on a preconceived plan of relegating matter involving formulæ to a separate collection, or for some other reason, he is constantly in the habit of referring the reader for information to one or other of two works of his, one *The Poore Man's Guide*, and the other the *Book of the Infantment.* Nevertheless, as Dr. Finlayson has pretty conclusively shown by an analysis of these many references, as late as 1612 the *Book of the Infantment* had not been published, and the other was probably in the same condition; and, if this were the case, it is all but certain that they never saw the light at all. Yet the references to these treatises are so many and various, that it strikes the reader with amazement to be informed that they are made to non-existent works. Granting Dr. Finlayson's conclusion to be sound, this is certainly one of the most singular instances of references and appeals not to one but to two literary Mrs. Harrises[1]; and it is all the more singular that these appeals are repeated so late as in 1612, after a lapse of sixteen years.

Doubtless the two missing books were on the stocks at the same time as the *Spanish Sicknes* and the *Chirurgerie*; the two latter were launched within a year of each other, while the other two were kept back awaiting the day of completion which never arrived. As late as 1612 he appears even to have contemplated the publication of a *Booke of the Plague*,[2] a disease he had probably encountered in Glasgow in 1602. The *Poore Man's Guide* was intended to be a book of receipts and instructions for popular use, and, had it been published, would have shown still more than did the fact of his writing his other books in English, that he had broken with the traditions of the old school of medical writers. The *Book of the Infantment* has a title which sufficiently indicates its nature and contents. It seems doubtful, however, whether an army surgeon could have had any experience in obstetrics, especially before the days of man-midwifery. One thing is certain, that the attempt implied in this title to naturalize in this country the old French term "enfantment" did not succeed.

[1] It is somewhat droll, as regards this reference, to find Astruc playing the rôle of the incredulous Betsy Prig. Speaking of *The Poore Man's Guide*, he says, "Qui an unquam in lucem prodierit addubito, de cujus editione saltem nihil comperti hactenus habere potui."

[2] *Chyrurgerie*, 2nd ed., 264.

But the book on which Lowe's reputation as an author mainly depends is his general work on Surgery. The first edition—a small unpaged quarto—bears the title :—

> "The | Whole Covrse of | Chirurgerie, wherein is briefey set | downe the Cause, Signes, Prognostications | & Curations of all sorts of Tumors, Wounds, | Vlcers, Fractures, Dislocations, & all other Dis- | eases, vsually practised by Chirurgions, | according to the opinion of all our | auncient Doctours in | Chirurgerie. | Compiled by Peter Lowe Scotchman, Arellian, Doctor in the Facultie of Chirurgerie in | Paris, and Chirurgian ordinarie to | the most victorious and christi- | an King of Fraunce and | Nauarre. | Wherevnto Is Annexed The | Presages of Diuine Hippocrates. | London. | Printed by Thomas Purfoot. | 1597."

Copies of this edition are very scarce, only three being known to the writer—one in the Radcliffe Library, Oxford; another in the library of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society of London; and a third, recently acquired by gift, in the library of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh. In the second edition there are some changes in the title page :—

> "A | Discovrse | of the whole Art | of | Chyrvrgerie | Wherein is exactly set downe the | Definition, Causes, Accidents, Prognosti- | cations, and Cures of all sorts of Diseases, both in | generall and particular, which at any time hereto- | fore have been practised by any Chirurgion : Accor- | ding to the opinion of all the ancient professors | of that Science, | Which is not onely profitable for Chyrurgions ; but | also for all sorts of people : both for the preuenting of | sicknesse and recouerie of health. | Compiled by Peter Lowe, Scottishman, Doctor in the | facultie of Chirurgerie at Paris : and ordinary Chyrurgion | to the French King and Navarre. | Whervnto is added the rule of making Remedies which Chirur- | gions doe commonly vse : wlth the Presages | of Diuine Hippocrates. | The Second Edition : corrected, and much augmented | and enlarged by the Author. | At London. | Printed by Thomas Purfoot. | An. Dom. 1612."

In the second edition the pages are xxiv. unnumbered, introductory, and 446, in addition to 9 pp. of index and 30 pp. unnumbered of the "Presages of Hippocrates."

A third edition bears date 1634, and the fourth and last, 1654. These two are almost reprints of the second edition, the changes made being mostly verbal and orthographic. The dedication in the first edition is to James VI. of Scotland; in the second, to a Scottish west country nobleman, the Earl of Abercorn, a copy of whose armorial bearings faces the first page of the dedication. The first edition is in Roman type, fairly good for the period. The other editions have the bulk of the type in black letter, the introductory matter, the rubric, the questions, etc., being in Roman or Italian type.

The *Chirurgerie*, as has been stated, is not in Latin, but in English, the use of which for a book on surgery he defends and justifies. Though treatises on parts of surgery had already appeared in the vernacular, it may be fairly claimed for Lowe's book that, apart from translations, it is the

earliest systematic work on the whole subject which was written in English, or published in this country. It required some degree of courage in a lettered surgeon to write a professional work in English at that period, and laid him open to much hostile criticism. It had also, perhaps, the disadvantage of limiting the circle of his readers. Neither in idiom nor words is the language Scots, at least to any noticeable extent. It might be thought that, after a residence of fourteen years in Glasgow, his second edition might have taken a Doric tinge. The book is in the form of a dialogue—in the first edition between John Cointret, Dean of the Paris College of Surgeons, and Peter Lowe, as his scholar; and in the second edition, between Peter Lowe and John Lowe, his son. The dialogue form is, however, imperfectly adhered to, whole books being given in the ordinary direct didactic form. It would seem as if the different parts had been written at so long intervals that the writer often forgot the literary form with which he started. As regards the subject matter of the work, it has been averred by a French critic that Lowe relies more on the authority of the ancients than on personal experience. This criticism seems hardly justified. Faith in the infallibility of the ancient writers on medicine was the vice of all the authors, physicians as well as surgeons, who wrote at that time and some years later. But Lowe seems much less chargeable in this respect than many others. Authorities he certainly does quote in abundance; but he is also constantly referring to personal experience, giving the names of patients in Paris and Glasgow and clinical details. Especially does he refer to what he has seen in the "great Hospitall of Paris," and alludes to dissections seen in the Paris School of Surgery. He introduced to the notice of English surgeons some improvements in operative surgery effected by Ambroise Paré, such as the ligature of arteries. Yet in amputation in gangrene he prefers the old method of the actual cautery, on account of the tenderness of the parts. His commentary on the last chapter of the *Book of Ecclesiastes* is well known. This passage, he says, "requires a good anatomist to expound." His own exegesis on this well-known chapter introduces a few anatomical refinements which would not occur to a non-medical commentator. Thus the "silver cord" is "the marrowe that goeth along the backe," and in the same way the bladder, liver, nerves, etc., are all worked in so as to render the passage almost an anatomico-pathological description of the infirmities of age.[1]

[1] Lowe's fancy in regard to the medical significance of this passage was expanded, and reduced to absurdity by a later writer, who found in the passage the circulation of the blood, in the discovery of which Harvey had thus been forestalled by King Solomon. The book in which Dr. John Smith in all seriousness elaborates these and other notions equally curious is entitled, "King Solomon's Portraiture of Old Age, wherein is contained a Sacred Anatomy both of Soul and Body. Lond. 1666." (See also *British Medical Journal*, 1895, I. 106.)

To all the editions of the *Chirurgerie* is appended, with a separate title-page, etc., his translation of the "Prognostics" of Hippocrates. The title in the first edition is

> "The | Booke of the Pre- | sages of deuyne Hyppocrates deuyded into three partes. Also the | protestation which Hyppocrates caused his Schollers | to make. | The Whole Newly Col- | lected and Translated by Peter | Low Arellian Doctor in the fa- | cultie of Chirurgerie | in Paris. | (· . ·) | At London | Printed by Thomas Purfoot, | 1597."

This appears to have been the first attempt to render into an English garb any part of the writings of the great physician of Cos. The first edition is dedicated to "Lord Robert Sempill, Sheriff of Renfrew"; the second and subsequent edition to "The Reverend father in God, John, Archbishop of Glasgow." This was the Rev. John Spottiswoode, in whose company he had made a visit to France in 1601. As regards the translation there is internal evidence that it was not made from the original Greek, but from a French traduction. Dr. Finlayson has remarked on the peculiarity of his translating the Greek *ἰατρός* not as "Physician," but as "Mediciner-Chirurgian," or "Phisitian-Chirurgian." After all, the rendering is perhaps not inaccurate, and has its modern equivalent in the "general practitioner." Dr. Lowe himself seems to have been regarded in this light by his brethren in Paris, as the title "Medico-Chirurgus," added to his name in the "Index Funereus" of the College of Surgeons, shows. It would perhaps imply too high praise of him to conjecture that it was to some appreciation by him of the essential unity underlying the division of the practitioners of the healing art into two branches that, in the institution which he founded in Glasgow, physicians and surgeons had each functions assigned to them in one body corporate.

Turning from Peter Lowe as a surgeon and author, one would like to be able to say something of his personal qualities. As might be expected, however, the distance of three centuries has dimmed the outline almost to the point of indefiniteness. Only one or two lineaments of his character can be made out with anything like distinctness. Reading his books apart from any knowledge of his personal history and position, one would conclude that he had a tolerably good opinion of himself. His way of speaking from an altitude, his grandiloquent railing against quacks of all kinds, and his mode of vaunting his successes, are apt to leave the impression on the reader that he was fully conscious of his professional worth. But this air of assumption is pretty much characteristic of most of those who wrote at the period. Among the common herd of barbers practising surgery Lowe could not but feel his own superiority; and his expression of this consciousness is not to be reckoned as akin to arrogance. We can also make out that the Doctor must have had some sense of wit and humour. In his surgical writings there was little room for the display of such a trait. But it peeps

out occasionally in satirical touches, in one case even when the incident related has a tragical ending, as in the following example. "I remember," he says, "in Paris in Anno 1590, there happened such a disease to a valiaunt Captaine (my great friend Captaine Bayle, who was one of the chiefest Captaines amongst the Spaniards at Paris) on the right side of his cragge, for the which I, a Chyrurgion Maior to the regiment, was sent for, and found it to bee an *Aneurisme*, so not to be touched; of the which opinion was my good friend Andrew Scot, who was a great Practicioner at Paris for y^e^ time, and wel exercised in the art of Chyrurgery, we did ordaine remedies to let [prevent] the encrease of it, which receipt being sent to the Apothecary, who before had seene the sayd Captaine, did thinke it no meete medicine for an Aposthume (as he tearmed it), so presently he sent for[1] his brother, the glorious Barbor, who, seeing the Captaine, found no difficultie, but swore with great othes that he had charmes for al sores, and the Apothecaire swore that he had salues for al sores, and so presently opened it with a lancet to auoide the matter as they thought, which being done the spirrit and blood came furth with such violence that the Captaine died presentlie." We have already seen how he could make sport of the terrors of Kirk discipline in Glasgow, at a time when the church's word of command or threat was far from being a *brutum fulmen*.[2] His epitaph, which has been already quoted,[3] must have been written when the memory of the Doctor's "pleasant wit" was still green in Glasgow. It makes more than one reference to this trait of his character:

"Of his God he got the grace
To live in mirth."

If the sentiment is cavalier, the expression of it is puritan; and the combination may not inaptly characterize the man in his relation to his Glasgow setting and surroundings. The quaint conceit of the kindly humorist triumphing after the mediciner had been baffled may after all have a bit of truth in it—

"Yea when his phisicks force oft failed
His plesant purpose then prevailed."

For a man whose lot was cast in stern and troublous times, and latterly among a generation not much given to mirth, to be able thus to laugh betokened some strength and individuality of character. That he must have wielded powerful influence is proved by his obtaining authority not only to make a comparatively small provincial town self-governing in matters relating to his calling, but even to make it the centre of jurisdiction in these affairs over the West of Scotland, including burghs at that time superior in status to itself.

[1] Up to this the 2nd edition has been quoted. What follows is the more racy reading of the 1st edition.

[2] P. 26.

[3] P. 31.

CHAPTER V

THE FACULTY: CHARTER AND INAUGURATION

IT is now proposed, in the briefest possible manner, to indicate the general scope and main provision of the charter which Dr. Lowe obtained from James VI.,[1] to point out one or two noticeable features in its form, and some peculiarities in the powers conferred, and to narrate the circumstances under which the corporation was inaugurated.

Beginning with a brief preamble already referred to (Chapter IV.), in which the anarchic condition of medical affairs in the West of Scotland is dashed off in strong colours, the charter proceeds to confer upon "Maister Peter Low, our Chirurgiane and Chief Chirurgiane to our dearest son the Prince,[2] with the assistance of Mr. Robert Hamiltone, professoure of medicine, and their successouris, indwelleris of our Citie of Glasgow, . . . full power to call . . . before thame, within the said burgh of Glasgow, or any otheris of oure said burrowis, all personis professing or using the said airt of Chirurgie"—the bounds of jurisdiction being defined as the "baronie of Glasgow, Renfrew, Dumbartane, and oure sheriffdomes of Cliddisdale, Renfrew, Lanark, Kylie, Carrick, Air, and Cunninghame," to examine them and to license them "according to the airt and knawledge that they sal be fund wordie to exercise," to prohibit practice beyond the license so granted; to amerce a fine on the "contumax" of fortie pundis, (£3 6s. 8d.) *toties quoties*, recoverable by a summary process of Scotch law known as "letters of horning," under which goods to the amount could be seized or the person incarcerated.

"The Visitors"—the official designation of Lowe and Hamilton, and

[1] For copy of charter, see Appendix I.

[2] Prince Henry, the heir-apparent, who died in 1612 at the age of 19, of what Dr. Norman Moore (*The Illness and Death of Henry, Prince of Wales*, Lond. 1882) describes as a typical case of typhoid fever. A curious controversy arose after his death as to the propriety of the medical treatment.

their successors in office—were to "visit everie hurt, murtherit, poisonit, or onie other persoun tane awa extraordinarily," and to report to the Magistrates. In regard to the practice of Medicine, their powers were limited to inhibiting therefrom all but persons possessed of "ane testimonial of ane famous universitie quhair medicine be taught, or at the leave of oure and our dearest spouse chief medicinaire." Along with William Spang, an old pharmacist in the burgh, they were to prohibit the sale of drugs which they had not "sichtit," and of poisons, except by apothecaries charged to take caution of the purchasers. They were to give monthly advice gratuitously to the diseased poor, while other clauses provided for continuity of succession, the making of bye-laws and exemption of the members from taxation and personal service of specified kinds.

These were the main provisions of the charter, which bears date the penult day of November, 1599.

More than two centuries after it was granted, this charter was subjected to fierce criticism on the score of its legal validity. A Lord Chancellor was of opinion that the powers granted involved an illegal stretch of prerogative. It was also contended that the document conferring these powers was not in form a charter at all. It will be observed that the framework of the corporate structure it set up was of a simple and somewhat rudimentary character. There was an absence of elaboration about its provisions. The successors of the original grantees were referred to, but not defined. What the charter did—and that rather by implication than by express provision—was to commit to the two men, in whose favour it was granted, the power of selecting (either after or without trial) the persons who should, along with these two, form the original members. The corporation was not even christened, no name being given in the royal grant. These were some of the aspects of the charter which in the present century greatly exercised the minds of English judges in the House of Lords. It turned out, however, that all this bewilderment arose from ignorance of Scots law. The judges had looked at a Scottish legal document through English spectacles.[1]

Turning from the form to the substance of the charter, its comprehensiveness as a scheme for the regulation of medicine is its most striking feature. The practice of medicine, surgery, and pharmacy all lay within its scope. It instituted *ex officio* medico-legal examiners under obligation to report to the authorities, thus anticipating what is now known as State Medicine. At a time when hospitals for the treatment of diseases were unknown in this country it provided for the gratuitous medical visitation and treatment of the sick poor. Looking at it a little closer, another peculiarity is observed, to which no analogy is found in any ancient charter of a medical body in the three kingdoms. To the practitioners of medicine

[1] See Chap. XVIII.

the corporation was placed in relations different from those it held to the craftsmen of surgery. The surgeons were to be examined and licensed; the physicians to be called upon to produce their University testamurs. This was in conformity with what has already been explained in regard to the divorce of the two great branches of the healing art originating in the twelfth century. Medicine was recognized as a subject of academic study, surgery as a handicraft to be learned in the same way as any other manual art. Yet in 1599 none of the Scottish Universities had given any proper place to the teaching of medicine. A Bull of Pope Alexander VI., in 1494, had indeed provided for a doctor of medicine lecturing in Aberdeen; but the University had collapsed in 1549, no attempt having been made on its revival to resuscitate a chair of Medicine. Pope Paul III. had also by a Bull authorized Archbishop Beaton to found a college, including medicine, at St. Andrews, but this was altered by another Bull in 1552, apparently before any attempt was made to carry the scheme into effect. The only remaining Scottish University, that of Glasgow, had not even made nominal recognition of Medicine as a subject falling within its domain. It is perhaps too much to assume that it was contemplated by the Faculty charter that the Scottish Universities should eventually assume their proper relation to medicine. The "famous" Universities referred to may have been those of the continent; at all events, a century and a half had yet to elapse before any of them rose to a true conception of their duty in this respect. As regards constitution and function, the position of the Glasgow Faculty was therefore unique. It was contemplated that its membership should be equally open to physicians and surgeons. But, while as regards the latter it had plenary powers, its legal function in reference to practitioners of physic within the bounds was rather a matter of police than of corporate authority, while the terms on which they were to be admitted as members were left undefined.

The singularity of another provision of the charter will only attract the notice of those familiar with the condition of society at a period when the severity of the old feudal system had been much relaxed, but still had a pretty powerful hold in several ways, as shown in the constitution of burghs. The distinction between royal burghs, free as a rule to elect their own magistrates, and barons' burghs, which did not enjoy this liberty, was marked. Glasgow at this time was not a royal burgh; it had been, and still virtually was, a bishop's burgh, not possessed of the autonomy of some of its neighbours. The status of the burghers, including the craftsmen, was to some extent reflected in that of the town. Viewed in this light, the provision in virtue of which the craftsmen in Surgery of Ayr, Renfrew, Dumbarton, Lanark, and Rutherglen were placed in matters affecting their calling under the jurisdiction of those of another burgh, and one of inferior standing to some of them, is somewhat remarkable. Whether the apparently anomalous

character of such an arrangement made the early members of the Corporation cautious in beginning to carry it into effect, certain it is that for nearly half a century the Faculty appear to have made few attempts to push their operations into any part of the district outside Glasgow; and, as regards some of the burghs, it was not till the next century that they obtained any firm foothold. Other causes, such as the unsettled state of the country, and the weakly condition of the young corporation in Glasgow, doubtless also contributed to this result. No similar state of matters existed in the East of Scotland, where the jurisdiction of the Edinburgh College of Surgeons was limited to the city, its extension over the eastern counties not taking place till after the Revolution. Nor was there any parallel case in the sister countries at this period. None of the London Medical Corporate bodies exercised authority beyond a few miles outside the city; and the jurisdiction of the Dublin barber-surgeons was equally limited. The territory assigned to the Glasgow corporation was therefore made the most extensive of any of the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons at that period.

The absence of any mention of the barbers in the charter is another noteworthy feature. It has already been stated that the general practitioner in Scotland was the barber-surgeon. Almost every person who tonsured beards also performed phlebotomy, and a few of the simple operations of surgery. A few surgeons there were who did not "barbourize," and it would appear that to those of this small number who were available Dr. Lowe contemplated to limit his selection of incorporated brethren. The experiment was virtually new in this country. As surgeons, or in conjunction with surgeons, the barbers were at this period incorporated in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin. Yet here in Glasgow the barber was left out in the cold. At the bottom of the exclusion of the craft doubtless lay Dr. Lowe's Paris experience, and his contempt for the tonsor-surgeon. He knew what endless trouble they had caused to the surgeons in that city; how the supple shavers, from being the humble dependents, had tried to vault into the position of rivals.[1] The two classes were therefore at daggers drawn in Paris, and Dr. Lowe, in his *Chirurgerie*, is unsparing in his contempt for the barber. "Usurping the name of Chirurgion," he says, . . . "they have scarce the skill to cut a bearde, which properly pertaineth to them." Their recognition in some form he must have seen was inevitable; but he had apparently resolved that, as will appear in the next chapter, it should be, not as crafts-brethren, but dependents.

[1] The Faculty of Medicine, with a view to "dish" the too aspiring surgeons, had admitted the barbers to practise all parts of surgery, exalting them to the rank of Scholars of the University. But one rather amusing difficulty presented itself. The University prelections were in Latin, while the barbers knew no tongue but the vernacular. The difficulty was compromised by an arrangement under which a kind of supplementary gloss or commentary was given in French

Assuming, as we are safe in doing, that the drafting of the charter was the work, or at least the inspiration, of Dr. Lowe, there can be no doubt that he did his best to shape and adapt the unpromising materials at his disposal as closely as the circumstances would permit on the model of the Paris institutions with which he was familiar. From the constitution of both the Faculty of Medicine and the Confrairy of Surgeons he seems to have taken hints for his corporation. Like the former it was to include physicians as members, exercising a certain control as regards their practice, and performing for the State certain medico-legal functions. To the constitution of the Paris Fellowship of Surgeons the points of resemblance were more numerous, being noticed even in matters of technical expression,[1] and some of detail. Thus the "Morantes Parisienses" of the college of St. Côme constitution becomes the "indwellers in Glasgow." The resemblance might be made more obvious by placing a passage in parallel columns. Thus:

The French surgeons were ordered—De s'assembler tous les premiers Lundis des mois de l'an, en l'église paroissale de Sanct Cosme et Sanct Damien, rue de La Harpe, et y demeurer depuis dix heures jusqu' à douze pour visiter les pauvres malades et donner conseil en l'honneur de Dieu et gratuitement.	To the Glasgow Faculty it was enjoined (modernizing the spelling)—That the said visitors, with their brethren and successors, shall convene every first Monday of ilk month at some convenient place to visit and give counsel to poor diseased folks gratis.

It is not without some interest to find a practice of giving gratuitous medical advice to the poor on a particular day of every month, originating in Paris in the thirteenth century, transplanted to Glasgow some three hundred years later, and there virtually surviving to the present day,[2] long after it had perished in Paris with the body in which it took origin.

Before quoting the minute recording the inauguration of the corporation, a word may be said as to the other two persons named in the charter besides Mr. Peter Lowe. Mr. Robert Hamiltone, "professor of Medicine," that is, "practising physician," was the representative of the academic element in the body. Of him almost nothing is known apart from the facts of his official position in the Faculty. In 1604-5 he was associated with Lowe and others as a commissioner to settle the dispute between the merchants and the craftsmen. At what University he graduated either in Arts or Medicine cannot be settled with certainty. All that can be said

[1] The resemblance as regards the legal form of the two charters was pointed out in the "Revised Case for the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow" against the University of Glasgow, 1833, p. 5.

[2] For the arrangement at present in force for "visiting the poor" by the Faculty see Chap. XVII.

is that during the first twenty years of the history of the Faculty he appears to have been its most active office-bearer. He was elected Visitor for almost every second year up to 1628, when his name finally disappears from the records. He left behind him a son James,[1] who was long a prominent member of the body.

The name of William Spang occurs on the Records of the Town Council in connection with his business of apothecary as early as 1574.[2] He was, therefore, on the advent of Mr. Peter Lowe in Glasgow, a burgher of old standing. He had a son of the same name and calling. The "sichting," or inspection of drugs sold in the shops, with which duty, in association with the visitor, he was charged in the charter, appears from the Records to have been required for a different purpose from what is suggested by the office to a modern reader. Whatever sins were chargeable against the old pharmacist, sophistication, a vice of more advanced civilization, does not appear to have been one of them. The insufficiency of his stock was often a matter of complaint,[3] and the potency of some of his preparations frequently brought him into difficulties. Some of those used by ignorant specialists and pretenders to secrets often cost the patient his life. The statement in the preamble of the charter that "infinite number of our subjects" were destroyed by these means was only a hyperbolical way of putting an ugly fact.

The following is the minute of the first meeting held, as will be seen, on 3rd June 1602:—

Die tertio Junii Millesimo Sexcentisimo Secundo.

The qlk day w^t^ in the Blackfreir Kirk[4] of Glasgow, In presence of Sir George Elphistoune[5] of Blaithwood, Knight Provest, James Forret, Johne

[1] This was presumedly the son who is mentioned as present, probably when a boy, at the first meeting after the inauguration (17th June, 1602), "The qlk day comperit Mr. Ro^t^ Hamiltoune, Visitor, and the Brethren, w^t^ his aine sone."

[2] *Burgh Records, Maitland Club*, 3.

[3] "Becaus ther ar sundrie who sells drogs w^t^in this brugh, and hes not sufficient drogs," the visitors and quartermasters were charged "to visit the sufficiensie thereof." (Minute, 28th January, 1612.) Adulteration of drugs was not, however, unknown under the old Roman civilization. (Puschmann, *Hist. of Med. Education*, 108.)

[4] This church was a noble pile of Gothic architecture, belonging at first to the College, and disposed of by the University to the City. After the Reformation it had no regular incumbent, but was used for occasional meetings, such as the one here recorded. Its steeple appears to have been in pretty frequent occupation, being used as a place of custody for Kirk delinquents. In 1670 the church was destroyed by lightning.

[5] Sir George Elphinstone, Lord of Gorbals, Knight of Blythswood afterwards Lord Balmerino, Lord-Chief Justice, a Privy Councillor, and an intimate of the king, was at this time a man of consequence. Thirty years later he sustained a sad reverse of fortune, dying bankrupt about 1634. His body, arrested for his debts, had to be interred secretly in his own chapel. His fine mansion in Gorbals was standing in 1843.

Andersoune, Will Andersoune, Baillies therof, Compeirt Mr. Peter Low and Mr. Ro$^{t.}$ Hamiltoune, wha producit ane gift of our Soveragne Lord anent ther Libertie w^{t} the provest and baillies autoritie Interponit thereto as the samyn at lenth beires, and maid convention w^{t} y^{r} breithren, vidilicet Adam Fleming, Mr. Ro$^{t.}$ Allasone, William Spang, Thomas Thomsoune, John Lowe, and the samyn being red, the s^{d} Mr. Peter and Mr. Ro$^{t.}$ was content of ther aune consents, notw^{t}standing of ther nomination of gift y^{t} ilk yeir ance at Mickelmes the samyn shall be lytit amongst the Brethrine, and wha be maniest votts beis elected to remaine visitor for ane yeir yrefter and so furth yeerly, in all tyme coming. And alse is content yt the forrsds persons, brethren of craft presently admittit by them, shall have power and libertie to use ther craft and calling as free as themselfs efter ther knowlage, and that they shall not visit any of the forrsds brethren patients being on cuir w^{t}out ther aune consents and the patients first had and obtained thereto. Qlk brethrene being present consents to concure, asist, and had hand to, And therefter the sd Mr. Ro$^{t.}$, present visitor whill Michalmese, be consent of the brethrein, hes elected Ro$^{t.}$ Herbertsone, Notar, Clark to them, wha hes given his oath of fideliti, and also creat George Burrell officier quill Michelmes, and hes given his oath, & the sd brethren to conveine all such tymes as shall be apoyntit being warnd be the officer wnder the paines conteined in the ordinance to be set doune theranent. The brethren hes p̃ntly given ther oathes, and ordained the rest and Johne Hall to be conveined, at y^{t} they shall concur and asist y^{r}w^{t} vthers as becomes.

Sic Subscribitur, Ro$^{t.}$
Herbertson, Notarius.

This minute requires little comment. By co-optation, Lowe and Hamilton, the persons to whom the charter was granted, admitted other five members, and formally divested themselves of the personal advantages they had acquired as grantees of the charter, handing over these as the common property of the body. In this earliest minute it crops out that the perennially burning question of one medical man poaching on another's preserves, in the way of taking his patients, was as urgent three hundred years ago as it is at the present day. It re-appears in several subsequent minutes, and was introduced, as shall subsequently appear, in a municipal charter acquired by the surgeons and barbers from the municipality in the middle of the century.

It will be noted that three of the members are each distinguished as "Mr.," denoting the possession of an Arts' Degree. On this point the successive clerks appear to have been punctilious for a couple of centuries. Of the adopted members, Spang has been already referred to, and of the others it need only be said here that nothing is known as to their antecedents. The members named probably included, with two added at a meeting shortly

after, all the practitioners of medicine and surgery, as well as pharmacy, in the burgh, except a few barbers. For a community of only 7000, this would be a fair percentage of practitioners of the healing art. It was but a small beginning, there being no attempt, as already stated, to work any part of the territory assigned to them outside of Glasgow till towards the middle of the century. The other similar medical institutions incorporated in the British Isles were located in populous capitals. The Faculty was launched in a comparatively small provincial town—a town, too, whose rate of increase was then so slow that at the end of a century it had not nearly doubled its population.[1] The early records of the Faculty cannot be intelligently read without constant mental reference to the exiguous surroundings of the corporation.

[1] Even in 1708, after the Union, the population of Glasgow was under 13,000.

CHAPTER VI

THE FACULTY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

OF the history of the first eighty years of the institution founded by Dr. Peter Lowe, we cannot do more than present a mere sketch. This is indeed all that is necessary, and possibly more than may be interesting. The present is an instance in which anything approaching to historical fulness would prove dull and unedifying. The records of these eighty years have been preserved, and they are certainly not devoid of a kind of interest. But after the first freshness of archaeological zest has worn off, they become rather dry reading. It is true that the monotony of incident is now and again relieved by some new and odd illustration of a condition of things very different from our own; some fresh example of modes of thinking or acting long extinct; or, occasionally, some droll incident related with formal gravity, and apparently without any appreciation of its ludicrous side. In other places, the elliptical character of the record piques the reader's curiosity. It takes for granted as known a good deal that he does not know and can only guess at. The question on which we hope to throw some light is this: What were the functions of a Scottish Medical Corporation in the seventeenth century, and how did it exercise them? In dealing with these old records, one has constantly to make mental reference to the state of civilization of the period. As veracious historians, we must also, once for all, relieve our historical conscience by admitting that some of the things recorded in these minutes do not greatly redound to the credit of these early Glasgow surgeons. For the narrow and exclusive spirit they displayed, they are entitled to the excuse that this was more or less characteristic of every corporate calling in these times. Their pettifogging way of peremptorily exacting their corporate fees and fines, often from those ill able to pay them, raises unpleasant feelings in the reader. Their relentless mode of cutting off defaulting members from corporate privileges, and thus professionally ostracizing them, strikes us as

often harsh. Their own defence of their exacting attitude towards those over whom they exercised jurisdiction, would probably have pointed to the purpose for which these exactions were made. The monies were allocated "to the puir of the calling," and that not merely nominally but really. For generations the "freedom fines," and other dues, were applied mostly to eleemosynary purposes. If they showed greed in their corporate dealing, it was in their case the handmaid of charity. It must also be constantly kept in view that the record books show the doings of a craft rather than the proceedings of a profession. This is especially true of the records till the middle of the eighteenth century; and but for the presence of the physician element in the body this feature would doubtless have been still more marked.

One of the first acts of the corporation was to adopt the barbers, rather, however, as servants than as sons. On the 22nd June, 1602, "It is statut and ordained that barbors being a pendecle of Chirurgerie, shall pay at ther admission fortie punds Scots and ilk yeir twentie shilling to the puir, and to midle not w^t^ anything farder belonging to Chirurgerie, under the paine of five pund, *toties quoties*, and sall pay to the Clark of the Calling for his buiking threttie shilling scots, and to the oficer twel shilling." It was no doubt intended from the first to admit the barbers to some corporate privileges. They had been purposely left out in the charter, and they could therefore be dropped at any time should occasion arise. But for the present their recognition was probably inevitable. All over Western Europe the barber still retained the traditional monopoly of bleeding, and exercising some of the simpler procedures of surgery. But in Glasgow his relation to the surgeon was somewhat peculiar. He was admitted to qualified corporate rights, but at first only as a matter of grace. Even when a municipal charter or "Seal of Cause" placed him during the latter half of the century in a position of almost corporate equality, it was not till the beginning of the next century that he fully realized his position. The minute quoted above shows how jealously and guardedly his relation to the surgeon was defined. In the phraseology of the period he was "free of his ain calling," but not of the incorporation as a whole. Surgery was to him a forbidden territory, from which he was warned off by threat of fine and expulsion. In reading the records his corporate insignificance is obvious enough. For considerable periods we hear nothing of the barber at all. Indeed, the number of persons admitted to "barbourize," and nothing else, was at all times small till near the close of the incorporating union. More frequently the applicant was admitted "Simple barber-chirurgeane, to medill with simple wounds allenarlie," following which is usually a list of operations which he is enjoined not to take in hand, on pain of fine and expulsion.[1]

[1] There was one Faculty post often filled by a barber, viz., that of officer to the

3° Junii 1602

Immediately on its inauguration the attention of the Faculty was turned to the organizing of the calling in Glasgow. The most pressing matter to be dealt with was that of apprenticeship. It must be remembered that at this period medical schools in the country did not exist. To learn his calling the physician, as has been stated, betook himself to France or Italy, and later to Holland; and a few of the more ambitious class of surgeons followed his example. Dr. Peter Lowe was not a solitary example of a Scots surgeon of that period being attracted to the French schools. Thus Andro Scott, surgeon to the King of Scotland in 1597, and, two years later, Deacon of the Edinburgh surgeons, was with Dr. Lowe in Paris in 1590. Another famous Scots surgeon of the period, whose tragical end must have cast a gloom over the profession in Edinburgh, was for "sometime chirurgion to the great hospitall of Paris."[1] This was Robert Auchmowtie, who, in 1600, was beheaded at the Cross of Edinburgh for killing his enemy in a duel.[2] But these cases of surgeons being educated abroad were exceptional; the mass of the craft were trained solely by apprenticeship. In 1602 the Faculty enacted a code of rules for the better and more uniform regulation of the system. The following is the first of several Minutes referring to the matter:

Act anent the admission of prenteisis and Booking.

Act for Examination of prenteses.

Die xxii Junii, 1602. "The sd day ordaines that all prenteises to be entered shall remaine no shorter space nor seven yeares, and the last two thereof for meat and fee, and at his entri shall pay five pund to the craft and to the clark—1 lib. 13s. 4d. give he be ane extraordinar on; and give he be a burges son, to pay 2 lib. to the box, and to the clark 1 lib. 6ss. 8d., and to the officer 12ss. And y^t^ ilk prentise shall be examined efter the first thrie yeares, compleating upon his art of Crafte, and to pay 5 lib. for the denner at that tyme and to every examinator 20ss., and to the Clark 6ss. 8^d.^ at the day of examination; and the Visitor to admonise the examinatores qron they shall examine to be wryten, and at the 5 yeares, and to be examinat lykewise, and to pay alyk . . . And at the seven yeares end, qhen he passes master to be examinat upon the holl particulars of his airt, of the definitions, causses, signes, accidents, and cures of all deseises perteaning to his airt, w^t^ the composition of nature and fit medicaments as shall be requisit, payand at the tyme for ane denner, ten pund, and to the examinatores and others as is afoirsd."

Corporation. In the seventeenth century this office was, in most cases, nominally filled by the last admitted member. If this were a surgeon, the duties were often performed by a deputy, who was almost always a barber. Whether in such cases the acting was remunerated by the nominal official does not appear. From the examinees of the incorporation he received certain fees; while the Faculty contributed "a pair of shoon," the price of which figures regularly for a number of years in the accounts.

[1] Lowe's *Chirurgerie*, 1st ed., VIII., Chap. 3. [2] *Pitcairn's Trials*, Vol. II., 112.

From one or two of the minutes it would appear that the "denner" was occasionally exacted even though the candidate was unable to satisfy his examiners—surely rather hard measure. Even when he had run the gauntlet of these multiform exactions, and passed the final examination, the new master, if intending to practise in Glasgow, had no liberty to begin till he had first been enrolled as a burgess of the town, this involving a further fee. Armed with his burgess ticket, he presented himself before the Faculty, and was then admitted a freeman of the calling. But even then, when a fully-fledged member of the craft, the drain on his purse did not come to an end. To retain the privileges of membership he had to pay throughout his career an impost called "quarter accounts," for the collecting of which several functionaries called "quartermasters" were annually appointed. If he fell behind in the payment, he could be suspended, or even eventually expelled from membership. But it was rare that this extreme step was had recourse to for a mere pecuniary default. Expulsion was, however, the recognized punishment for moral delinquency as a member, such as turbulence or insubordinate conduct at meetings, and especially the crime of slandering the visitor, which was one of no uncommon occurrence. But the punishment being one which involved professional ruin, it generally happened that the Faculty relented, and re-admitted the delinquent on his expressing penitence. When this was done it appears to have cost him a new "upset" (admission fine).

Such was the system of apprenticeship as it existed at that time and long after, which has now altogether ceased in Scotland. It was obviously inadequate, but it was not devoid of some good points. It secured to the neophyte a good, practical acquaintance with his art; and the training in the house of his master also secured for him a needed moral control. The weak side of the system is seen in the inadequate provision for securing a sufficient training in anything but routine details. This appears to have been felt even in those early days. To remedy the defect it was made obligatory in 1612 (28th January) "that the deacon [visitor] or on of the qrtmasters teach upon Medicine, Chirurgeri, or Apothecarie, the nature of herbs, droges, and such lyk as shall be though[t] expedient by the brethrene of sd vocation." This appears to have been the earliest attempt at collective medical teaching in Glasgow. The idea was, as subsequent allusions show, to collect the burgh surgeons' apprentices together at stated periods, with such of their masters as chose to attend, in order that the visitor, or other official, should give instruction, oral and demonstrative, with a view chiefly to supplement the isolated instruction given to the apprentices. Occasional references to the matter in the Records attest that the obligation did not remain altogether a dead letter.

Of the character of examinations of those early days we have sufficient materials in the Records on which to form a notion, if not a judgment.

They appear to have been quite as exacting as the necessities of the case permitted. "Plucking" was, it is true, not so common as it is now-a-days, but it occasionally happened. Indeed, minutes of the following kind are met with so frequently as to suggest the doubt whether the complaint of the Town Council on one occasion, that the burgh was inadequately supplied with surgeons through the fault of the Faculty, may not be well founded: A candidate, "being examined upon Chirurgerie and Pharmacie, was found ignorant by the sd Facultie as to both the sd airts, and yrfer they hereby discharge him in all tyme coming to exerce any of the sd airts, or to give any potion of physic, &c." In such cases the candidate was obliged to give a bond or written guarantee, for the observance of which he had to find caution that he would abstain from practice, under penalty of a fine of a specified amount, usually forty pounds Scots. Several features of examinations as now conducted, which are looked upon as modern improvements, are met with so far back as the beginning of the seventeenth century. Under minute of June, 1602, part of the examination, as we have seen, was to be in writing, "the Visitor to admonise the examinatores qron they shall examine to be wryten." Many circumstances tend to prove that the examinations were to a considerable extent practical. Even the clinical examination, which is looked on as a thing of the latter half of the present century, was not always awanting in the examinations of these early days. It is not a little curious to note the straits to which the examiners were put to find clinical *matériel*. To compensate for the want of hospital-patients the examinee was sometimes ordered to accompany the Visitor or other examiner on his round of visits. Sometimes also the procedure was reversed. For example, a candidate was examined and received licence in 1671 on the condition "that before he be recavit he acquaint the Visitour when any patient did employe him to use any pairt of Chirurgerie, who sould tak two of his number with himself, see his applica°ne, &c." One would imagine that it would be rather an awkward proceeding for a surgeon on probation taking his Examining Board along with him on a visit to his own—and presumably his first—patient.

This way of licensing conditionally was not very common. But they had a mode of partial licensing which we in these days find it a little difficult to realize. If a man were found qualified in some particular department, but unable to pass muster in the whole compass of the art, he was admitted to practice *quoad* his ability. This mode of admission was usual in those times, and was contemplated in the charter, in which it is ordained that candidates were to receive a "testimonial according to the airt and knowledge that they sal be fund wordie to exercise." When this was done it was strictly stipulated that all beyond the defined field of practice was to the candidate forbidden ground. How this system could ever work well it is a little difficult for us to understand. One would suppose that the exigencies of general practice would be frequently throwing temptations in

the way of the surgeon to stray into the prohibited territory. This must often have happened, but recorded cases of the kind do not occur so often as one would anticipate. It must, however, be constantly kept in view that the medical confraternity in the West of Scotland in those days was comparatively small. All the surgeons in Glasgow would readily be known to each other; and the same remark applies equally or more certainly to those of such towns as Ayr, Paisley, Dumbarton, and Kilmarnock. Any violation of the conditions of licence would therefore come to the knowledge of some of the members of the Faculty; and this in itself would act as a deterrent. The area of limitation in regard to practice differed very widely in different cases, both as to form and extent. The barber-surgeon was licensed "to draw blood," or "to vent blood with ane horne," and to "cuir simple wounds." Sometimes, but rarely, the permission was extended "to the curing of broken bones quhair the flesh is not cut," or, "whilk are not come through the skin." But, as a rule, it was only the surgeon who did not "barbourize" who had his tether so far lengthened. The pharmacist's formula entitled him "to sell drogues, and mak up recepies according to ane doctor's directions." In one case, that of a Paisley apothecary, this rider is added, "which he is to receive from ye doctor in ye Scots language, because he has no other language." In turning over the leaves of these Records, we occasionally come upon some oddity in the range of qualification, either superadded to the ordinary formula, or authorizing some specialty to be practised alone. Thus, in 1668, Matthew Miller is licensed to the "applicaᵒne of coulters & ventosis, the cuiring of simple woundes, and *embalming of corpes*"; and in this, as occasionally in other cases of partial qualification, it is added "in caice it shall happen at any time herefter the said Mathew to attain more knowledge and skill of his calling, being fund qualified by the sd Facultie, then he sall be admitted yrto accordingly." In such cases it often happened that the range of licence was extended on re-examination.

Lithotomy was at this period a kind of specialty, and was not generally looked upon as a recognized surgical operation. It was, in fact, considered too dangerous a procedure to be admitted to rank with the ordinary practices of the life-preserving art. It might often save life; but the chances of success were too desperate for it to be encouraged by honourable practitioners. This mode of regarding the operation of cutting for stone was a relic from very ancient usages. It has been pointed out by the late erudite Dr. Adams, of Banchory, that in the whole compass of ancient medical literature there is not a single description of the operation by a person who had actually performed it. In Arabia it was regarded in the same light. Avenzohar pronounced the operation to be one which no respectable practitioner would witness, far less perform.[1] The operation was forbidden

[1] Adams' Edition of the *Works of Hippocrates*, Sydenham Society, 777.

by Hippocrates in the well-known oath which he exacted from his disciples.[1] Dr. Peter Lowe, in his *Chirurgerie*, gives no instruction in regard to cutting for stone, although he refers to writers on the subject, and to his own *Poore Mans Guide*. It was not till the eighteenth century that it took rank in this country as a recognized surgical operation to be performed by the ordinary surgeon. It was this peculiarity of lithotomy as an operation tabooed by the profession which perhaps obliged the Town Council of Glasgow to appoint a "stone-cutter" for the city, distinct from the ordinary surgeons. From the City Records, of date 21st March, 1661, we find that "it was concludit be the Magistrates and Counsell to pay yearlie to Evir M'Neill, that cutis the stone, ane hundreth markis Scotis, and he to cut all the poor for that freilie."[2] This salary was paid him for a great many years. In the treasurer's accounts for 1682 it is entered, along with that of Dr. Brisbane, the town's physician, and John Robisoune, the town's surgeon. All three receive the same salary—£66 13s. 4d. Scots. Even after the impecuniosity of the city had obliged the authorities to desist from subsidizing physicians and surgeons, the stone-cutter apparently continued to draw his annual salary as formerly. In 1688 Evir M'Neill, on whom the infirmities of age had begun to tell with effect, retired from the office. At the meeting of the Town Council of 27th March of that year, there is produced "ane testificat in favour of Duncan Campbell, subscryvit be the haill doctors and most part of the chirurganes in toune, of his dexteritie in cutting of the ston, as also in sounding with great facilitie, and hes given severall proofes thereof within this burgh, whilk being taken to the said Magistrats and Counsell their consideration, they nominat and appoynt him to cutt such poor in toune as he shall be desyred be the Magistrats, in place of Evir M'Neill, who is unfit to doe the same through his infirmitie."

We have no information in regard to Evir M'Neill's mode of operation, or even in what way the unlettered Highlander acquired his skill. Special attention, however, seems to have been paid to calculus in the West Highlands.[3] The various methods of procedure were usually kept and

[1] The question has, however, been raised whether it was not the operation of *Castration* which Hippocrates thus prohibited. The matter has been fully discussed by Littré, and a fair summary of the arguments on both sides will be found in *Pétrequin's Chirurgie d'Hippocrate*, Vol. I., 192. Paris, 1878. That it was really lithotomy that was the proscribed operation seems to be placed beyond reasonable doubt.

[2] It appears that the Town Council had ineffectually offered inducements to a "Doctour Soutar" to accept the office of city stone-cutter (*Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow*, 1881, p. 327, 420). If he came to the burgh (he was admitted a Member of the Faculty in 1655), he can only have remained in it a short time.

[3] See papers by Professor Mackinnon of Edinburgh University in *Edinburgh Medical Journal*, January and February, 1895.

whispered as family secrets. It was in this way that the operation practised by the Collots in France was handed down from father to son and son-in-law, until, as the story goes, the secret was at last filched from François Collot by the students opening a hole through the ceiling over the spot where he generally sat while performing the operation. Evir M'Neill, it must be remembered, flourished nearly half a century before Frère Jacques had improved the operation of cutting for stone. His operation was therefore probably of a somewhat primitive kind; and, in spite of "the testificat" of operative dexterity of his successor, Duncan Campbell, signed by the city physicians and surgeons, it is doubtful whether his method would be much better than those of his predecessor. We have unfortunately no kind of statistics which might serve as an index of their success.

The fact that the city "stone-cutter" was allowed the same annual salary as the town physician and the town surgeon might suggest the question whether in that age stone in the bladder was not a more common affection in Glasgow than it happily is at the present day. The notices we have of it in the seventeenth century refer mainly to the cases of children. Even now, with its population so vastly multiplied, Glasgow produces few cases of stone. In our hospitals, indeed, the affection is occasionally met with; but most of these cases come from districts beyond the city. There exist no data for deciding the question whether the affection has decreased in frequency. Altered habits of living *may* have tended in this direction, but it is more probable that in those early days the hazardous nature of an operation excluded from the limits of ordinary surgical procedure, placed a factitious value on the services of the professional stone-cutter.

Evir M'Neill must have cut for stone for a period of upwards of forty years. This appears from the terms of the minute of his admission to the qualified membership of the Faculty in August, 1656. For just as the Collots in Paris were admitted as lithotomists to the College of Surgeons, Evir M'Neill was in a sort of way affiliated to the Faculty in Glasgow. It will be observed from the following minute that he was admitted *qua* lithotomist pure and simple, and that, though a trial is spoken of, no attempt was apparently made to test by examination his qualifications for the specialty:—"Octavo Augusti, 1656. Convenit in the new Kirk Johne Hall, pñt Visitour w^{t} Mr. James Hamiltone, Arch. Graham, Johne Low, Daniell Broune, Tho. Lockhart, James Thomsone, and Ro^{t} Hareis, anent the tryeall of Iver M'Neill, Chirurgiane, who hes been in use these ten yearis or therby bygaine in cutting of the stone. They upon sight of several creditable testificats did licentiat him allenerlie to exerce the cutting of the stone w^{t}in the boundis contenit in ther gift." From the treasurer's accounts of that year, in which there is an item, "Ro^{t} Browne for charging Iver M'Neill," it would appear that the connection of the latter with the Faculty was not one of his seeking. To us in these days the transaction has a somewhat

discreditable look. It could reflect no credit on the body to license a specialist whom they did not examine; and all the more so, because whatever dexterity he may have shown in using the knife, Evir M'Neill, of all whom the Faculty ever licensed, was the only man who had to make the humiliating admission that he could not wield the pen. His signature in the records is made by a notary, "because he cannot wryt." This leads us to remark in passing that though in those days there was no test of general education other than that afforded by an examination conducted partly in writing, the Records conclusively prove that the members were, as a rule, tolerably well educated men. A fair number of them—probably in proportion as great as at the present time—were Masters of Arts, the names of such being invariably distinguished by the prefix "Mr." Some at least of the early surgeons were cadets of good country or city families. That this circumstance was of advantage in elevating the general tone of the body there cannot be a doubt. The social standing of not a few of the members afforded the best guarantee at that time available for the exclusion of ignorant and unlettered men.

While touching on the licensing function of the Faculty as performed in early times, we cannot omit some notice of the position of the body in respect to medicine. The charter, as we have seen, made a clear distinction between the relation of the Faculty to surgery and its attitude to medicine. But the fathers of the Faculty did not always clearly apprehend the distinction; or, if they did, they often disregarded it. During the first half of the seventeenth century they appear to have examined and licensed almost as often in medicine as in surgery. They evidently regarded the members of the Faculty rather as men who were to exercise the functions of general practitioners than of surgeons only. It sometimes happened that while the candidate was found incompetent to practise surgery, he was qualified in medicine; and he was licensed in strict accordance with the results of the test. The explanation which may suggest itself, that the word "medicine" in the Records is merely equivalent to "pharmacy" is inadmissible. The two terms are often used in the same minute, the one in superaddition to the other. Thus of Mr. Arch. Graham in 1654 it is noted "quha being examinat be ye said facultie is licentiate to profes pharmacie and medicine w^t^in ye boundis . . . *as is contenit w^t^in ye lres of gift* and obleiss him at no tyme heirafter to use nor exerce any point of Chirurgerie." Here the candidate is not only licensed to practise medicine as well as pharmacy, and prohibited from exercising surgery, but this is alleged to be in consonance with the powers conferred by the charter.

Almost from the first this lax mode of interpreting the charter was indulged in. In 1612 we find "Androe Mill fund qualifiet to practice the airt of Chirurgerie and sic uthers of the airt of Medicine he has knolage

of." It is still more surprising to find this loose reading creeping into legal documents and even an Act of Parliament. In a General Decreet or Signet Letters[1] obtained from the Lords of Council and Session in 1635 there occur the words "chargeing all and sundrie the saidis persones qu'tsomever, professing or using the saidis airtis of Chirurgianie or Medicine . . . to desist and cease frae all using or usurpeing of the saidis airtis of Chirurgeanrie or Medicine within the boundis foresaidis, . . . except they be examinat be the said Mr. James Hamiltoun, present Visitour foresaid in the said Airt or calling of Chirurgianie and Medicine, . . . and be his brethrerin," etc. In the Parliamentary Ratification of the charter,[2] obtained in 1672, it was necessary to recite the original document, or to give a fair summary of its contents. The clause respecting medicine is thus misrecited, "and that it shall not be leisum to any maner of persons within the foresaids bounds to exercise medicine, without ane testimoniell of ane famous Universitie wher Medicine is taught, or at leist the persons above mentioned or ther successours" [viz., the visitor, and his brethren]. The clause as thus recited received the ratification of Parliament. It is therefore quite possible that had the Faculty at a later date advanced the claim to license in medicine as well as in surgery they might have made out a fair case. It is beyond question that they could have pleaded and proved ancient usage.

A few sentences will serve to describe the working constitution of the Faculty during the first half of the seventeenth century. The office-bearers, who were annually elected at Michaelmas, were these: a praeses, whose correct designation was the "visitor," but who is often called the "deacon," elected by the general body of members; a varying number of "masters," originally called "quartermasters," from the circumstance that one of their functions was to collect the quarterly accounts, appointed, part of them, by the visitor [visitors' masters], and part of them by the members [crafts' masters]. These masters were the executive of the Faculty, and assisted the visitor in examining, and all other matters of importance. There were also two officials called "boxmasters," who were charged with the duty of preserving all the important documents as well as the cash belonging to the incorporation. They took their name from the repository of which they were custodiers, which was "a box w^t^ twa keis," ordered to be procured in 1612, "to keep the frie money that comes to the common affaires, w^t^ the buiks and other evidences." The non-existence of banks of deposit was doubtless the cause of the procuring of this box, which was an institution commpn to all corporate bodies of the period. A treasurer (called the collector) was first appointed in 1636. A clerk (or law adviser and secretary) and an officer, appointed from the outset, completed the early list of officials.

At first there was no fixed place of meeting. The Blackfriars Church,

[1] See Appendix II. [2] See Appendix IV.

in which the Faculty first met, the "New Kirk" (the first Tron Church), the house of the visitor, "the Crafts Hospital," and, latterly, Hutchisons' Hospital, were the most usual places in which the meetings were held during the seventeenth century. The number of members resident in Glasgow during the first sixty years of the century does not appear at any time to have exceeded twenty-four, and this only shortly before the Restoration.

During the period from 1604 to 1677-78 the surgeons and barbers were represented in the Trades' House by the visitor, the physicians as such having no connection with the crafts. It is true that the name of Dr. Robert Mayne appears to be enrolled as deacon in connection with the Trades' House.[1] But this was before the date of the Letter of Deaconry, at a time when things had not yet taken the shape they eventually assumed. From 1679 to 1709 there appears to have been no representative of the corporation. This was caused by the litigation with the Town Council in connection with a case narrated in a subsequent chapter (IX.), when they felt themselves obliged "to separate themselves from the rest of the incorporations." On the conclusion of that case in 1691, they appear to have been in no haste to avail themselves again of the privilege of trades' representation, and this was on one occasion made the ground of complaint by the barbers. In 1709, the name of the visitor again appears as deacon of the craft, and this continues to 1719, when, as will afterwards appear, the connection with the Trades' House was finally severed, as far as the surgeons were concerned.

The name of the corporation is also a point to which we must briefly advert. It has already been pointed out[2] that, in strict accordance with Scottish legal usage, the charter gave no distinctive appellation to the body. For several years the want of a special name was probably never felt. In the Records the assembled members are designated in various ways: "the brethren of Chirurgerie," "the craft of Chirurgerie," and similar titles. About the year 1629 "the Facultie" occurs in the minutes for the first time; but for several years thereafter the clerk appears to have used this and other titles indifferently. About the middle of the century "the Facultie of Chirurgerie" has nearly dispossessed the other titles. Shortly thereafter, when two or three physicians were admitted to the membership as such, "the Facultie of Chyrurgeons and Physitians" appears for the first time. This was in 1654, and it was not till the end of the century or later that the title finally crystallized into "The Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow." There can be no doubt that it was the recollection of what the Glasgow corporation owed to its venerable namesake in Paris, through its founder, Dr. Peter Lowe, which prompted the early fathers of the Faculty to the adoption of this particular title.

[1] Cleland's *Annals of Glasgow*, I., 455. [2] P. 40.

CHAPTER VII

THE FACULTY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (CONTINUED)

IT has already been stated that the charter of James VI. made no mention of the barbers, although in Edinburgh, and the other divisions of the kingdom, that craft was conjoined with that of the surgeons at this period and for many years after; and that after the inauguration of the Faculty, the barbers were adopted as a "pendicle," without any defined rights in the incorporation. There is no evidence, as far as we know, to show that, previous to 1599, the barbers existed as a separate burgh guild in Glasgow, though various dates of their alleged incorporation have been given. Had this been the case, it is not probable that they would have quietly acquiesced in the arrangement of 1602, under which they were liable to corporate burdens without being admitted to proper corporate privileges. To the accident of Dr. Peter Lowe's intimate acquaintance with the state of matters in Paris was doubtless due the exaltation of the surgeon over the barber in Glasgow. But there was no great gulf at this time between the two callings in this country. Probably, it might rather be said the one craft shaded into the other at the beginning of the century; and the result of the state of affairs established by Dr. Lowe would be to create a sharp dividing line which must have been galling to the humbler craft. Besides, the latter would be virtually unrepresented in the Trades' House except by the surgeon-visitor, in whose election they had no voice. These were probably the reasons which led to the application to the Town Council for a "Letter of Deaconry," or "Seal of Cause." The instruction given in the minute of 4th August, 1656, that the document was to be drawn "in favouris of the facultie, but [without] prejudice of the old gift grantit to them be the decest K. James, and this to be allenerlie [only] in favouris of the Chyrurgeons and barbouris."

This municipal charter[1] is a document of some length. Besides embodying a code of regulations, it is of some interest both in regard to

[1] See Appendix III.

what it includes and what it omits.[1] Amongst other curious provisions, it has one enacting that "no friemane presume to tack ane vther freamanis cuir af his hand wntill he be honestlie satisfied and payit for bygaine painis . . . vnder the paine of ane new vpsett,"—an Utopian measure the principle of which was adopted by one of the Glasgow Medical Societies a number of years ago, but with little success. This provision was qualified by another in virtue of which the visitor and quartermasters were authorized "to tack patientis from ane friemane not fund qualified for the cuiring of them, and to put them to ane more qualified personne as sall be thought expedient after exact tryall." This, with the provision to "poynd" absentees from meetings and *burials*, is illustrative of the notions then prevalent in regard to what is now called "the liberty of the subject." This obligation to attend funerals, by the way, was not intended, as a cynical reader might possibly imagine, in the way of penance for the result of the practitioner's treatment. Such a provision was common to other incorporated callings, and had reference to the obsequies not only of members of the craft, but also to those of distinguished burghers and others. A similar obligation was enforced in the case of the Paris Faculty of Medicine, which prescribed in detail the order in which the physicians should march in the ceremony.[2] It seems almost to have been regarded as one of the regular duties of the visitor, and other office-bearers, to attend officially, in some kind of state, the funerals of persons of note.[3]

Another noteworthy point in regard to this Letter of Deaconry is that the name "Faculty" does not occur from beginning to end of it. The body incorporated is simply the "Chirurgians and Barbouris," or "the said Crafts" or "Airts." The reason is this. The word "Faculty" was henceforth, either tacitly or by unrecorded arrangement, reserved to designate the body acting under Royal Charter, as distinguished from it acting under

[1] It appears that in the inventory of writs belonging to the present Incorporation of Barbers there is a copy of the Seal of Cause, in which there occurs a curious mistake in regard to a date: "Sence ye patent grantit to us of the date ye penult day of November, 1559." The year should obviously be 1599, as James VI. was not born till 1566. This error probably misled Crawford, the historian of the Trades' House, into giving 1559 as the date of the incorporation of the Barbers.

[2] *Ritus Usus et laudabilis Facultatis Medicinae Parisiensis*, Cap. 38, 133.

[3] For such attendance the members were paid, though not for being present at the obsequies of fellow freemen. Entries similar to the following are not uncommon in the treasurer's accounts :—

		£	S.	D.
1665.	For those that went to burialls, be the deacons orders, - -	5	8	0
1669.	For three hors hyres for Montross buriall, - - - - -	6	16	0
„	For four hors hyrs for Walkinshaws buriall, - - - -	3	6	0
„	For four horses to my Lord Elphingstonis buriall, - - -	10	13	4

Municipal Charter. Though this was the rule, the clerk appears on some occasions to have forgotten it.

We look in vain through this "Seal of Cause" for any very clear reason why the surgeons thought it necessary to apply for this kind of corporate connection. We read, it is true, of "ane joint and harmonious correspondence of brotherhood, as brother citizens willing to sympatheis with the rest of the bodie of the citie." But it was doubtless a less sentimental reason which was the motive power in this instance. It was not, at all events, that the Corporation should be represented in the Trades' House. It had apparently always been represented there by the visitor, and it had regularly contributed to the Crafts' Hospital, in which the meetings of the body were often held. It might therefore be supposed that the surgeons had a good deal to lose in the matter of dignity, and not much in the way of compensating gain by a formal union with the barbers. The Minutes, however, dimly suggest a reason which may have swayed the surgeons. To obtain a Letter of Deaconry was to draw closer their connection with the Town Council. The latter body were charged by the charter with the duty, which they had come under obligation to discharge, of giving executive effect to the lawful acts of the Faculty under the Royal Charter. But the surgeons had lately been grievously troubled by illegal practitioners. In was only in March of this very year that they had appointed a deputation "to speak to the magistrates anent the execūne of the lres [letters] of captioune," more especially with reference to two notorious offenders who were particularly complained of. To draw closer the municipal connection would therefore be a politic step on the part of the surgeons; and it is probable that the magistrates would insist on the recognition of the hitherto dependent craft of barbers. All the other crafts had their Magna Charta in the "Letter of Guildry" of 1605, and the barbers were, no doubt, desirous of emancipating themselves from their parasitic condition, and of being placed on some kind of parity with the other crafts. After all, however, neither party can be said to have profited much at first, at all events, by the union. The most ambitious barber could never hope to rise to the Visitor's Chair, which could only be filled by a surgeon. Nor can it be said that the latter obtained an equivalent for consenting to pocket what little of professional dignity he possessed. The alliance, as will shortly appear, became a source of embarrassment to the surgeons during their negotiations with the physicians; while at a later period, the complication arising from two charters granting jurisdictions not coterminate—the one extending over a wide district, including the burgh of Glasgow, the other limited by the bounds of that city, and granted to them only in virtue of their being burgesses of it—led to such hopeless entanglement that a severance of the union was the only way out of the difficulty. From the position taken up by Dr. Peter Lowe, this corporate alliance with the barbers was a retrograde step, retarding, as it

did, the progress of the body, and turning its energies into a wrong channel.

In 1672 the Faculty obtained from the Scottish Parliament a Ratification of the charter.[1] This document, though intended to be a ratification of the Royal Charter only, is drawn, curiously enough, in favour of the surgeons, apothecaries, and barbers. The most noticeable point in it is that, as already stated, in giving a *précis* of its provisions, it so far misquotes the original charter, as to credit the Faculty apparently with the power to examine and license in medicine as well as surgery. The error was doubtless one of inadvertence, and the circumstance shows the perfunctory manner in which such documents were drawn in the seventeenth century. Whether the blunder had any legal significance may be a moot point. On the one hand, it may be held that where an Act of Parliament extends the powers previously conferred by Royal Charter, the statute, and not the charter, must be held to be the authoritative rule; while, on the other, it might be contended that the powers conferred by a Parliamentary Ratification cannot exceed those bestowed by the charter so ratified.[2]

Immediately after receiving the parliamentary confirmation of their charter the Faculty engaged in negotiations for the admission of a class who, unlike the barbers, had a claim under the gift of James VI. The charter was originally granted to a surgeon and a physician; and the powers conferred by it had reference to medicine as well as surgery. The original conception of the Faculty was in fact that of a College of Physicians and Surgeons; the latter to be admitted by examination, the former as possessing a University degree. But in the first half of the century there were evidently very few physicians resident in Glasgow. In 1645, Mr. Robert Mayne, the first titular professor of medicine in the University of Glasgow, and Mr. James Dwining, both doctors of physic, were admitted members, and without examination. As showing that this was done under the provisions of the charter these admissions are expressly stated to be "conforme to the patent." Of Dr. Rattray's admission subsequently no record was kept. Dr. John Crichton, of Glasgow, and Dr. Wm. Wallace, of Paisley, were admitted soon after the last named, and one or two others followed. In regard to the business of the corporation, all these physicians appear to have been on the same footing as the surgeons. Thus Professor Mayne, when visitor, acted as the Faculty's delegate in the Trades' House. But the municipal alliance with the barbers appears to have had the effect for several years of preventing the physicians from entering. The latter naturally stood on their dignity, and would have no association with a craft the members of which they regarded as tradesmen.

[1] See Appendix IV. The cost of the Ratification was 500 merks Scots (£27 15s. 6⅔d.), certainly a modest sum when contrasted with the expenses of an unopposed private bill at the present day.

[2] See Case in House of Lords, College of Glasgow *v.* Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, 20.

Both physicians and surgeons appear at last to have felt that they were losers by the estrangement. The former were in want of a bond of professional union; whilst the surgeons lost in dignity, and, as a body corporate, in effective working power, in being unable to carry out one of the objects of the charter. It is also evident from the Records that an important question had come to the surface. Had doctors of medicine resident within the bounds, as such, a right to demand admission to the Faculty? It was probably on this point that some earlier negotiations had been wrecked. This was in 1671, when Dr. John Colquhoun, Dr. Matthew Brisbane, and Dr. Thomas Hamilton, all physicians in Glasgow, were desirous of admission to the membership. At the meeting held on 7th February of that year, it was carried by a majority that the fact of being a doctor of medicine, resident in Glasgow, did not carry with it the right of admission. By a second vote it was carried by a majority that these three physicians should be admitted, a day being fixed for receiving them as freemen.

But the physicians, it would seem, would rather remain out than enter on any other terms than those implying a right of admission in virtue of possessing a degree. At the end of 1672 the negotiations were renewed, the Faculty on this occasion making the first approaches. The surgeons were evidently eager to bring the matter to a successful issue. The negotiations are reported in the Records in great detail. Each party first formulated the conditions on which they were willing to consummate a union. The surgeons, on their part, thought it right to put on record, in the preamble of their stipulations, their reasons for desiring the admission of the physicians. In the phraseology of the period these were "that the concurrence of some physitians residing w'in the bounds specifit thereintil [*i.e.* in the charter], is injoined and necessaire (if it can be had) ffor the richt and legall exercise of the power of visita°ne." They were, in fact, of opinion that the concurrence of some physicians would enable the Faculty the better to perform the functions and obligations imposed by the charter. They admit that the spread of quackery and kindred evils may be partly due to the defect in their existing constitution. They therefore think it right and expedient to revert to what they considered to be the conception of the constitution of the Faculty, as sketched in the charter. That conception, to their minds, was that of a body presided over by two heads of co-ordinate authority, the one representing the physicians and the other the surgeons. They therefore request Dr. John Colquhoun to take upon him and exercise "the office of Visitor conjunct with the pñt Visitor of the Chirurgians and pharmatians as fully, frielie, and honõllie [honourably] in all points as Mr. Robert Hamiltone did, or might have done, with Mr. Peter Low, according to the first intention, and at the procuring of the sd. gift." The committee appointed to negotiate with Dr. Colquhoun were invested with large discretionary powers, subject to two

reservations, which they evidently regarded as their inner citadel, to be maintained at all hazards. One of the conditions was general, the other special. The first was that they should accept no terms which might tend to the destruction of the incorporation, or opposed to the parliamentary ratification of the charter then recently obtained. Separation from the barbers was therefore not to be entertained. The special reservation was that the possession of a University degree was not to be acknowledged as giving its holder, though resident in Glasgow, or elsewhere within the bounds, any right of admission to the Faculty. With these exceptions, everything else could be yielded in the way of "securing his [Dr. Colquhoun's] honour and reputation from aspersions, or for easing of his burding in the sd charge." The reference to "aspersions" pointed to the barbers, and the possible contamination of the physicians from being associated with them.

At the next meeting Dr. Colquhoun, as representing the physicians, also submitted a number of stipulations to be accepted as fundamental. The first and most important of these touched upon the delicate point of the conditions of the admission of a physician. This, it will be remembered, was probably the rock on which last year's negotiations had been wrecked. But the physicians had now abated their demands. They no longer insisted on admission in right of their degree. But they made the proviso that it should be put on record that the entry of the physicians into the Faculty was in accordance with the express tenor of the charter, and "not precarious or depending on the bare call of the Chirurgianes." This was a compromise. Though not admitted as a matter of right, they were not to enter as a mere matter of grace. It was to be minuted that their presence was provided for in the charter, and that they were therefore a necessary element of the body-corporate. The other stipulations were: That the number of physicians to be admitted was not less than two; that one of these was to be resident in Glasgow, while the other might live in the country; and that to the latter "some poynts of the power of visitation may be committed." That in all matters depending upon the charter, physicians and surgeons were to sit and decide *communi consilio*, and any resolution against which the former unanimously protested as derogatory to their degree, was to be void and null. That the physicians were to be exempted from taking part in crafts' or trades' house business; that the physicians were in all matters to take precedence of the surgeons; that the surgeon-visitor was to take oath that he would seek the honour and advantage of the physicians, "especially those incorporat," while reciprocally the physician-visitor was to swear that he would seek the good and welfare of the surgeons. That, as regards the business of the Faculty arising out of the charter, only a selected number of the surgeons were to sit and vote with the physicians; and, lastly, that the two visitors should have equal power to convene meetings.

Everything was at last satisfactorily adjusted. The ratification of the convention between the two high contracting parties is thus described in the Records:

"The said Doctor Johne Colquhoun did condescend and imediatlie yreft did accept in and upon him the office of Physician-Visitor conjoint w^t^ the Chirurgian-Visitor; and he and members of the sd facultie abowyne [above] did *hinc inde* give y^r^ grit and solem oathes, viz., The sd doctor to maintain the just ryts and priviledges of the sd incorporatione w^t^ ther weelfare, and the sd members to maintain the honour and advantadg of the sd Physician-Visitor, and did tak uther by the hand in furder testimonie of ther unanimous assent to the premiss."

The minute then proceeds to record the election and admission of two other physicians—Dr. Thomas Hamilton, of Glasgow, and Dr. Michael Wallace, of Ayr. Thereafter eighteen surgeons were selected from the whole list by the two visitors, and these were to have the power of voting at meetings. All persons who had been licensed to practise only a part of the profession, and the whole of the barbers, were left out in the cold. The physicians took no part in any business arising out of the Letter of Deaconry. That appertained to the surgeons, apothecaries, and barbers. But all matters originating from the Royal Charter, such as those connected with examinations, inhibiting unlicensed practitioners, reporting in medico-legal cases, and several others, became the functions of the physicians and surgeons acting conjointly.

That the admission of the physicians constituted an important era in the history of the Faculty, there cannot be a doubt. The advantages accruing from it are obvious. It provided a greatly needed counterpoise to the crafts-man element in the body, which had been recently reinforced. The care with which the physicians guarded themselves from contamination from this source is almost amusing in its eagerness. With the surgeons, as acting under the Seal of Cause, they would have nothing to do. It was only with these surgeons as the successors of Dr. Peter Lowe in the charter of James VI. that they would form any alliance. In the negotiations it is pretty obvious that they very nearly got everything their own way. If unanimous, the physicians could veto any resolution of the body. Though at first a numerically small element in the Faculty, they could exert a preponderating influence on its deliberations. Their accession, however, had the effect of complicating the constitution of a body already sufficiently involved. It must now be regarded as having a kind of dual constitution. On the one side it was a college of physicians and surgeons, with the medical and surgical members admitted on different conditions, having two presidents of nominally co-ordinate authority, with powers of examining and licensing, and inhibiting from practice, extending over the western counties. On the other hand it was a city guild, composed of two separate

crafts, the members of each being admitted freemen of their own calling only, having for its head a "deacon," who was the surgeon-visitor, and attending to the ordinary business of such an incorporation. On the one side the surgeon joined hands with the physician, on the other with the barber; but between the two extremes of this trio thus strangely linked there was no relation whatever. It was not in the nature of things that such a complicated constitution could work well. The elements which composed the body in its different aspects had little cohesion at best, and some of them mutually repelled; while its several functions were in reality incompatible. The only wonder is that such discordant elements could exist together for something more than half a century.

With the accession of a few physicians and surgeons from the larger towns in the West of Scotland—from Ayr, Kilmarnock, and Paisley—which took place about the middle of the seventeenth century, or a little after, the Faculty began to obtain a grip over the larger part of their allotted district outside Glasgow. During the first half of the century their numbers were too small,[1] and the success of their operations within the town of Glasgow too doubtful to allow of their working the country districts effectively. They appear first to have begun with Paisley, which was rising into some importance, if we may judge from the number of practitioners examined and licensed. Only one or two in that century came from Greenock, the rise and prosperity of which are of more modern date. It was evidently with great reluctance that the medical men in the country districts came up for examination, and often only to escape prosecution. They were frequently found sadly awanting at the examination, and not a few of them obtained only very qualified and restricted freedom to practise. In the latter half of the century the Faculty tried the experiment of delegating part of their power to a few physicians of their number resident in Ayr and Kilmarnock. The first appointed was Dr. Michael Wallace, of Ayr, on 21st March, 1673. The minute bears that "they offred him a commissione w^t^ certain instructions for the sd shire and a list of all persons allready licentiat within that bounds, Reserving to themselfs and y^r^ successors liberty to call and convein persons w^t^in the sd shyre before them not formerly licentiat, and to call him to ane accompt for his actions and intromissions." Three months later, 11th July, 1673, "The qlk day the facultie taking to ther serious consideratioune the grit burding lying on doctor Wallace by the late Commission grantit to him ffor the power of visitatioun in the West, they judgit it convenient he should have an assessor or helper," and for this purpose they appointed Dr. Bryce Bell, of Kilmarnock. It is not quite clear whether they were to examine applicants, the Faculty reserving the power to re-examine; or whether they were simply to utilize their local knowledge for seeking out unlicensed practitioners, and sending them to be tested in Glasgow. Though provided with two letters of horning, they do not appear to have been very successful, and the plan was soon abandoned.

[1] For another possible reason, as regards the burghs, see p. 41.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FACULTY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (CONTINUED)

IN perusing the early Records of the Faculty, we have seldom the advantage of seeing the old surgeons in any but their official dress. Occasionally however, we do catch glimpses of them as they lived and acted their parts. Interspersed amongst the driest minutes we come upon "touches of nature which make the whole world kin": the human passions of the men, sometimes their vanities, their jealousies, occasionally their turbulence, and not seldom their genuine kindness of heart, peer out from the time-stained pages. Through the Records also we sometimes, but not often, get glances at what is passing in the greater world outside, and can read with more or less distinctness a few of the incidents or characteristics of the age. It is proposed in the present chapter to present a very few illustrations of this aspect of these Records.

One cannot read any length into these old Minutes, in some places, indeed, can hardly open them, without being struck with the frequency with which a crime known as "blaspheming" prevailed in the early Faculty. A cursory modern reader finding this word ever and again cropping up in the pages, might imagine these old surgeons as amongst the most irreverent of men. But the term "blaspheme" is an example of a word once used in a general sense, and now confined to a particular case of the idea it represented. It was not the Deity of whom the members of the Faculty spoke evil; it was of one another, and especially of the visitor. If the frequency of the offence is at all indicated by the number of times in which laws were made and renewed against it, these early surgeons could have placed remarkably little restraint on the "unruly member." As early as 1612 (22nd Sept.) we come upon an "Act against any brother to abuse ane other." "Give any member of the said calling," runs this statute, "blaspheme any brother of his craft ether publickly or privately or utherwise, or misuses any of them in word or deed, in yt caise tryall takein and provin against him be witnesse, shall pay 4 lbs. to the calling, and give his brother scandalized

satisfaction at the deacons sight and masters, otherwise to be dischargit to use his calling toties quoties." The position of the visitor rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to the shafts of calumny, and at the same time rendered the offence exceptionally heinous. It was accordingly found necessary to hedge this official round with a cordon of prohibitive statutes, which were constantly renewed, and probably as often broken. Here is one of these of date 1654 (28th April): "yt at no tym heir efter any person qtsoever being a member of the facultie shall tak upon him to speik scandalously of the Visitor, ether before his face or behind his back, for qtsoever cause or occasion, but upon the contrair shall indevior to carry themselfs respectfully to him, and give him his deu respect in everything relating to the calling & yt under the paine of 15 lbs. unforgiven, and the Act to be put to dew execution be the last deacon, the present deacon complaining to him," etc. It appears also that this fine was often exacted with relentless rigour, a peremptory order being made in a former minute that "the culprit remaine in fast ward till it be payd." But it would have required a surgical operation to stop the unlicensed wagging of the tongues of some of the members. Minutes similar to the following occur so often as soon to blunt all sense of the unusual or exceptional: "The qlk day ther being a complaint given be the Visitor aganes John Liddell for his misbehaviour towards the Visitor and abusing at severall myr [more] members of the ffaculty by his toung, the ffaculty present taking the same to ther considera°ne wt his confession yrof, They heirby discharg him of that trust as a box-master. . . . also they discharg him to compeir at any of ther meetings untill they see his future good behavior, and this, to continue during ther plesur."[1] Suspension, such as in this case, and even expulsion, were not unusual sequels to this class of offences. On adequate expression of contrition the blasphemer was generally readmitted, but even then he was invariably mulcted in "ane new upsett" [admission fine, and perhaps "denner"]. But all the terrors of fines, imprisonment, suspension, and even corporate excommunication, were unavailing to prevent this crime of vilipending, even on the most public occasions.

In 1667 (24th Sept.) it is recorded that "a complaint is givene in by the sd Arch Bogle [the Visitor for the year] and Wm. Currie, makand mentione that q^{t} Wm. Cliddesdaill upon the 19th day of the sd monethe in presence of the haill brethrene upon reciding of the sd Wm. Currie" [a new entrant examined at the previous meeting] his supplica°ne anent his admissione to exerce such points of chirurgie or apothecarie as he sould be fund qualified unto. Trew it is the sd Wm did in ane most uncivill maner w^{t}out any offence given upraid the sd visitour by uttering ane number of vyll expressions, as particularlie yt he was ane mere fool and ane ass not worthie to carry office in his place, and did call the sd Wm Currie ane warlock and

[1] 26th June, 1680.

runniegait going fra door to door, as the sd complaint more fully comportes." The accused admitted the offence as regards Currie, but denied it as respected the visitor. The charge thereupon was put to proof, the evidence of the visitor and other members present being taken, with the result that the accused was found guilty as libelled. "Thereupon the sd facultie all in one voyce did fyne the sd Wm. Cliddesdail in Twenty merks moneye for the use of the poor and yt the sd Wm sould never carrie office nor have a vott in all tyme coming, except the Visitour present and to com and the facultie see his good behavior in the futur."[1]

In 1672 John Fleming, for the crime of "reflecting on the Visitor," was amerced in a fine of six pounds, compelled to crave the Visitor's pardon, and then expelled. These are a few out of a considerable number of instances which could be given to illustrate the want of restraint in the matter of expressing their opinions of each other, which appears to have characterized not a few members of the Faculty. But no one acquainted with the habits of the different classes of society of the period will make the mistake of supposing that an undisciplined tongue was limited to the members of the medical profession. This was, in truth, a feature of an age characterized by rudeness and turbulence in Scotland, and not of any particular class or calling. All through the published Minutes of the Town Council cases are continually turning up of "speaking scandalously," or misuse of speech under some such term. Running one's eye down the rubric of the *Burgh Records*, published by the Maitland Club, it is arrested (at page 7) by the pithy summary of an Act, "gif they flyte to be brankit." The same failing was chargeable to the members of the legal profession in Glasgow. They were "boisterous and talkative, besides indulging too much in strong imagery." In 1668 a code of "Injunctions for the Procurators" was drawn up by the Commissary; and these contain a graduated tariff of fines for the various kinds and degrees of offences of this kind.[2]

[1] Clyddesdail was afterwards rehabilitated on his own application, and his fine remitted. But he appears to have had a knack of getting into scrapes. In 1669 the widow of one John Risk laid a complaint against him before the Faculty for malpraxis, which she alleged had resulted in the death of her husband. The complaint is set down with a quaint minuteness which almost borders on the ludicrous; how "that the sd umquhill John Risk having ane paine in his briest" consulted Clyddesdail, paying him a fee in advance, wherupon the latter gave to the "defunct in two cockell shells ane potione of antimonie," with instructions as to the taking of it. The result is thus stated: "The sd defunct made use yrof upon the morrow, being a Sabaath day . . . that it did no wayes in the least work with the sd defunct until Monday at aight, at which time that it wroght the defunct to death." Clyddesdail denied the charge *in toto*; but his admission that he had administered to the patient "some oyles and some pills" was enough to seal his fate. He had treated a medical case, which was "altogether contrair to his act of admission." He was therefore heavily fined, and a representation of the facts was ordered to be made to the Town Council, with what object does not appear.

[2] *Memoir of George Baillie*, 17.

In view of the troublous times in which the Faculty was cradled, one would naturally expect to light in the Records on incidental references to passing events. Such allusions do occur, but rarely. Thus the accession of a new monarch necessitated the taking out of fresh letters of horning in his name. Occasionally their connection with the municipality saddled the members of Faculty with duties which would somewhat surprise their modern successors. In 1665 the Visitor reported to the Faculty "that his Majestie and Estates had imposed ane greater taxatione of monye upon the countrie nor formerlie, and that the magistrates of the brughe had ordered him to desyr the calling to meet to the effect they might know how the sayme should be payit, whether by a common stent, or augmentatioune of the excyse of malt, who all in one voyce agreed that five shillings, Scots moneye, myr of augmenta°ne sould be laid upon the mask of malt nor is presentlie exactit." A certain sum was in these days required to be raised by every burgh in proportion to its resources, the magistrates in each case being left to exact it in the way they thought best for the locality. It is evident from the above quotation that the surgeons had a wholesome dislike of direct taxation. In 1653 we learn incidentally that some time previous the treasurer had lost "much of the crafts guids at the incoming of the Englesh to the toune." Cromwell had evidently given the Faculty some cause to remember his visit to Glasgow three years previously.

As to ecclesiastical politics, though a few of the Faculty were red-hot Covenanters[1] the major part of them appear to have tempered piety with prudence. In 1677, when the crusade against the Covenanters was hot the Faculty had the misfortune to have a Treasurer who attended conventicles. Great was the anxiety of his brethren for the safety of the corporate purse. Accordingly a meeting was convened, and the members "taking to ther serious considera°ne the hesart of loss they may sustein through Mr. Thomas Smith, the present collector, being denuncit or convenit before the Lords of Secret Councill for attending conventicles," they thought it wise summarily to eject him from office, and appoint a successor *ad interim*. The latter was peremptorily enjoined to call his covenanting brother to book forthwith, and take over all his papers and money.

In 1656 an attempt was made by the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, to institute in Edinburgh a College of Physicians for Scotland. The surgeons of that city appear to have taken the alarm at once, and communicated with the Faculty with a view to the scheme being opposed. The Faculty met, "Octavo Junii 1657. Conveint . . . concerning ane letter direct to them be the chirurgianes and apothecaries of Edg^r^ anent the letteirs of patent granted be the protectour for erecting ane College of physitianes ther, They did all in one voice Comissionat and Impower Johne Hall and Mr. Arch. Grahame to goe to Edg^r^ to advocat and oppose the sam before the Counsall of Stait."

[1] See Roll of Members, "John Spreull," entered 1661.

The Commissioners were to take with them the Charter, Letters of Horning, and forms of summons. On the twelfth of the same month they reported that they had presented a memorial to the Council of State, and secured the services of two agents; and the Faculty "ordered each on of ther number to think upon the phisitianes patent and upon objectiones ther against." What was the result of their cogitations does not appear from their Minutes, but elsewhere we learn that there being strong opposition, not only on the part of the surgeons of Edinburgh and Glasgow, but of the Universities and other bodies, the scheme was eventually dropped in 1657.[1] That the surgeons had good ground for their dislike of the project is evident from the fact that under the proposed foundation their practice would have been greatly circumscribed, and their professional position generally lowered. They were to be allowed to treat only cutaneous and external diseases "so long as these remained simply such and did not recur," in which latter case a physician was to be consulted. The patent which was actually made out and is still extant gave the college the power to practise surgery as a branch of medicine, "forasmuch as the Science of Physick doth comprehend, include, and contain in it the knowledge of chirurgery, being a special part of the same and member thereof."[2] The opposition of the Faculty is, therefore, intelligible; but what is not so clear is the ground of the suspicion apparently implied in the following Minute of Glasgow Town Council, that the Faculty might come to terms with the physicians, and the interest that Council took in a question which was not a matter of much concern to them. "5th Sept., 1657. James Thomson, deacone of chirurgianes compeired in the counsall being sent for, and was discharged publictly that nether he nor his bretherine of calling should mack any kind of agriement with the doctors of physick anent the colledge of phisitianes craved to be erected be them, whill he did first aquant the counsall, quha promised it should be so." The visitor reported the interview to the Faculty and "did demand of them whither they would adher to ther old gift or joyne w^{t} the prfit calling of Physitianes. They did all in on voyce adher to ther old gift." Clearly some overtures for union had been made to them.

In 1660, the year of the Restoration, we come upon a little bit of mystery, which it is impossible to clear up from the Minutes themselves. In that year the annual meeting at Michaelmas took place as usual, but under unusual circumstances. In the first place the meeting is said to be convened "be lawfull authoritie and be virtue of ane warrand from ye magistrats and Counsell,"—an authorization apparently as unnecessary as it was unprecedented. Then the presiding surgeon-visitor is not the one whose election had been recorded at the last annual meeting, a year previously, there being no intimation of any change made. Further, the

[1] Gairdner, *Sketch of the Early History of the Medical Profession in Edinburgh*, 1864, 20.
[2] *Historical Sketch, etc., of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh*, 1882, 20.

officer "gave his aith that he had warned the haill members, *except ye secluded members*,"—the last words being added by way of correction in the margin. The mystery was cleared up by the publication of the Town Council Records in 1881.[1] From these we gather that exception had been taken under the Seal of Cause to the election of Thomas Lockhart as visitor, he being not a surgeon-freeman, as the municipal charter provided for, but an apothecary. On the matter being reported to the Town Council they, after a good many meetings and not a little forbearance, ordered the election to be rescinded. It will be seen from the minute of the Town Council, to be quoted, that it was alleged and admitted that the Faculty minute book had been tampered with, for the purpose no doubt of proving the election to have been valid. The original record of Lockhart's admission and the alterations effected thereupon may be seen from the following extract: "Die the 13 of decemb. 1649. The qlk day Thomas Lockard is admittit apothecarie *and chyrurgian* to wse phlebotomie w^t^ putting in of potentiall cauters *and other prse of chirurgerie*, who hes given his oath," etc. The words in italics have been interpolated to legalize Lockhart's election as visitor. There is little wonder that the Town Council were indignant. Their minute bears:

2 March, 1660.—"Forsuameikle as Baillie Colquhoune and the deane of gild did mak report that they now and divers tymes of befor had spokine with Thomas Lockart, apothecar, and wthers of the chirurgianes, anent the electing of the said Thomas deacon of their calling, contrair the tenour of the litter of deaconheid laitlie grantit be the toune to that calling, and that conforme to the counselles ordour given be them thairanent, and that so far as the said baillie and deane of gild could gather of them, the said Thomas Lockhart and theis adhearand with him seimes altogither to slight and viliefie the forsaid gift grantit be the toune to that calling, and to adheare to their old right; and now the said magistrats and counsell, taking to their consideratioune the great regrait made be sundrie of the chirurgianes in this burgh that the said Thomas Lockheart, now pretendit deacon of that calling, was not lawfullie choysen, he being ane apothecar but not ane chirurgiane, and so contrair to that lait letter of deaconheid grantit be the toune to that calling, and how that some of them, for better effectuating of their sinistruous ends, had vitiat and interlyned their books most vnjustlie, and how that the said Thomas, after warning, compeared in counsell, and, being interrogat anent the vitiating of their said book, he grantit the same, quherwpon he was requyred to produce ane act sett doune by the calling warranding the vitiating and interlyning of the said book before the samyne was done, with certificatioune if he failyied, the magistrats and counsel wold declair his place to be vacking."

The minute details at length their unsuccessful dealing with Lockhart, and then records his deposition: they "doe heirby declair the aforsaid Thomas Lockhart, as pretendit deacon of the said calling, to be vacant,

[1] Pp. 430, 432, 433, 437.

in respect he was not laufullie choysen conforme to the said letter of deaconheid grantit be the toune to that calling, and does heirby liberat and mak frie the bretherin of that calling fra giving to him any obedience as becometh ane deacon in tyme coming, and appoynts the baillies and deane of gild to intemat the samye to him."

From the allusion to "ye secluded members," it is probably not far wrong to infer that there had been a quarrel in the body, ending, in these days of intolerant majorities, in the suspension of the minority from corporate privileges. The dispute blazed up again in February, 1661, when one of the leading members, Mr. David Sharp, refused to keep court with the others in auditing the Treasurer's accounts, "except y^{t} ye haill brethren wer present, and yron took instrūts [instruments] and imediatlie left ye court, and upon ye qlk carriadge of ye sd. Mr. david Scharps, James Frank, Visitor, asked instrūts, and protested for remeid of Law ag^{t} him. Unto qlk the Visitor declared ther wer a prit [part] of ye number secludded from ye court, and notwithstanding Mr. david said he would have yem to be yr befoir he would acknowledge ye court." The dispute is not again referred to.

If these early surgeons did not always prove their piety by being lovers of peace, or by restraining their tongues, and were even worldly-wise enough to look with disfavour on an official attending conventicles, they compounded for these shortcomings by religious ardour in another direction. Of Sunday shaving they had the most pious horror. Again and again they had to put down the foot on impious barbers, who were inclined to please their patrons by indulging in the proscribed practice. Here is a minute of January, 1676:—"The sd day, upon informa°ne given to the facultie that severall barbors, who are members yrof within the burgh, are prophaners of the Sabath by barborizing of persons yt day, They taking it to ther considera°ne, and finding the same to be so gross a sin, and viola°ne and breach of the Sabath day, contrair to the word of God, and to all lawes both humane and divyne, That any sould tak upon them who are members of the Incorpora°ne, and does sitt and vott wt them to comitt the same, being in itself most scandelous, as it is a hiely provoking sin, They all w^{t} on consent doe heirby enact that qtever person, ether at pñt incorporat wt them, or who sall heireft be admitted as a member of the facultie, sall presume to barborize any person qtsever upon ane Sabboth day, and he be convict yrof in presence of the facultie, sall for each of the first and second faultes, pay in to the Collector of the upsett ffourtie punds Scots, and upon refusal to pay the same, to be declarit no member of the facultie, and his act of admissione cancellit and delet. Lykeas if any sall happen to be so gross as be convict a third tyme of the foresd sin, they do heirby declare him no member of ye sd facultie fra yt tyme furth as if he had never been admittit, and incapable at any tyme yreft

to be readmittit, and his act of admission cancellit, scorit, and expungit furth of ther records as a prson unworthie of being incorporat in any societie, and much less to be a member of the facultie." This last sentence reveals a depth and virulence of detestation of unsanctified shaving to which the Faculty Clerk of the day was fortunately able to give adequately pungent expression.[1]

If the members of the Faculty were thus not lacking in what they considered their duty to God, neither were they neglectful of what was due to themselves. Laws to regulate points of medical etiquette and ethics were frequently made and renewed. In the very first meeting held in 1602 the subject crops up, and a few days later "it is statute and ordanit that non of ye brethren tak ane patient out of ane uthers hand untill the tyme y^t the sd brother be fully satisfiet for his paines and y^t at the visitouris sight and qtermasters, under the paine of paying to the box 40 lbs. unforgiven." In the Letter of Deaconry there are some odd provisions on this matter, such as that under which "no freeman presume to tak any other freeman's case out of his hands, till he be honestly paid for his bygone pains, and that at the sight of ye bailiffs, with the advice of the Visitor, in case the patient find himself grieved by the chirurgeon, under the paine of a new upsett, excepting always libertie to the Visitor and quartermasters to take patients from ane freeman, not fund qualified for the cureing of y'em, and to put them to ane more qualified person, as shall be thought expedient after an exact tryall." Complaints as to breach of etiquette are not uncommon. On one occasion the complainer himself received an equal castigation with the respondent. In 1678 William Kelso, a surgeon in Ayr, lodged a complaint against James Stevenson, also residing in that town, "for taking ane patient of his hand in swa far as being employit to the cuir of ane broken leg, and efter he had reparit and dressit the same according to method, . . . the sd Mr. James did (as it appears at the desyre of the patient) untie the fractur, and dressit the same himself." The *dénoûement* must have been galling to the complainer, though he might have foreseen it. On looking into the record of their examination and conditions of admission, the Faculty found that neither the one nor the other had been found qualified and licensed to practise surgery. Their finding, therefore, was that as regarded the complaint, it was "not convenient to meddel yrwith," but both parties were strictly enjoined to desist from the practice of surgery till they had again been examined and found competent in it.

This brings us to the subject of prosecutions. In these modern days, as every one is aware, the matter of prohibiting and prosecuting quacks is

[1] Sabbatarian zeal took the same form much about the same time in the Edinburgh College of Surgeons. See Gairdner's *Sketch of the Early History of the Medical Profession in Edinburgh.* Edin. 1864, p. 10.

one of considerable difficulty and delicacy. We are troubled with new-fangled notions regarding what is called "the liberty of the subject." We draw fine distinctions. It is not unqualified practice that is illegal; it is the dishonest assumption of professional titles. The meshes of the law are thus wide enough to allow a pretty big offender to escape. But in the seventeenth century they were not troubled with such nice scruples. The Faculty had not only the power to prosecute, but the charter, having as its handmaid a despotic law, put into their hands an instrument by which they could do so in a manner equally summary and effective. The original provision of the charter was that "in case they be contumax being lauchifully citat, every ane to be unlawit in the soume of fortie pundis *toties quoties*." And in enforcement of this penalty the Faculty were to receive "our letters of horning, . . . chargeing them to poind thairfor within twenty-four houris under the paine of horning; and the partie not haveand gear poindable, the magistrate under the same paine, to incarcerate thame quhill caution responsall be fund that the contumax personne sall compir at sic day and place as the saidis Visitouris sall appoynt, gevan tryall of ther qualifications." Such a provision in modern times would be justly reckoned most arbitrary and tyrannical. In the most summary way the delinquent could be tried by the Faculty and fined, and on a magistrate's order (failing goods to be distrained), committed to prison till the payment of the fine; or, if a more lenient view were taken of the case, till he came under obligation to desist from practising, and found adequate "caution" that the promise would be fulfilled. These "general letters of horning" might possibly be of advantage to the community in a certain stage of social progress, but they were obviously subversive of the elementary principles of liberty, as the term is now understood. But to the credit of the Faculty, they appear to have generally tempered rigour with mercy. As far as there is evidence, they cannot be said to have recklessly used the powerful instrument which the law put into their hands. If they were severe, it was only intermittently, and not for long periods at a time. From about the year 1665 onwards, for twenty years, a mania for prosecuting appears to have seized them. The Records for that period are filled with cases of unqualified persons brought up before the body in their judicial capacity. The accused sometimes appeared in answer to summons, but occasionally they were brought up "under caption," or "apprehended wi' caption." Letters of horning come up in some shape in almost every minute. Nor was it the City only that they tried in this way to clear of quacks. The crusade was pursued to the furthest border of their territory. On 24th April, 1673, we read that "they ordain a pair of lres of horning to be sent west to Dr. Wallace"—a country physician admitted in terms of the convention with Dr. Colquhoun, and to whom was to be committed "some points of the power of visitation,"[1] "to be mad use of in that part

[1] P. 64.

committed to his visitation." It does not appear what execution the formidable "pair" effected. Let us hope that the quality of mercy was not strained in the use made of them. Occasionally men were found bold enough to defy the Faculty, despising all the terrors of letters of horning, caption, and imprisonment. In such cases the contumacious quack usually raised in the Court of Session an action of suspension directed against the authority of the Faculty, but usually without much success.

Though some of these proceedings in these prosecutions may appear to us high-handed, there can be no doubt that many of them were clamorously called for. Some of the cases of malpraxis related in the minutes would in these days be treated as culpable homicide, if not murder. Female practitioners were occasionally made subject of complaint; and on two or three occasions the Faculty thought it consistent with their dignity to prosecute the offenders. The essential portion of one of these cases, as stated in the Minutes at length, may be given:

"28th Aug^{t} 1657. The sd day anent the complaint of Jannet Andersoune, relict of the deceasit James Rodger, Merchant of this borough, against Margaret Granfield, spous to David Farrell, making mention that upon the sixth day of this instant monethe the sd Janet, her deceasit husband being heavily diseased with ane mortall diseas qrof he departed this lyf, and hear tell that the sd Margaret had geven out herself as ane most expert physitian, he caused her goe for her, wha came to visit him, and after shoe had grūped his pulsis shoe told him that his diseas was curable, and promised to cuir him yrof w^{t}in fyfteen days; and he, being thus persuadit be her, did in end agrie wt her for three pound ten shillings sterling money, for the qlk soume shoe promised to cuir him perfectlie, and qlk soume shoe recavit in hand according to her own desyre; and true it is she sent him some jewly [jelly] in ane can with other two things, qlkes are almost extant to the fore to be seen." The minute then records his taking of the medicine, and his death, and proceeds: "and, being present w^{t}in three or four moments of tyme before his departure, shoe told him that ther was no deathe working with him." The complaint then resolves itself into a demand that the female practitioner be declared incapable of practising medicine or surgery, and that she be ordained to return the fee. The case went to proof, the accused denying "the whole expressiones conteint in the narrative aforsd, but acknawledgit receipt of the forsd monye, and that she did give the defunct the particular medicamentes conteint in a papper given in be her, to wit, two pyntes of [*], two pyntes of claret wine, two loaves of sugar, threee ounces of syrup of [*], three ounces of maidenhair, wt some syrup of gillet flowers, and declarit he died of ane hydropsie, be reason of his legis were all swalit downward, and ane hard coche and ane draught and [*] in his bellie." After some interrogation, she said that she was "content to soccombe and undergoe the censur of the facultie, and pay back all the forsd three punds ten shillings, stg., to the

* Blank in the M.S.

pursuer; and being demandit if shoe had any warrand to exerce Medicine or testimoniall from any in authoritie to pas through the natur whereby her honestie and well carriage might be knawne, shoe denyit the having thereof. Qlk being considerit the facultie all in one voyce did unlaw, amerciat, and decerne the sd Marg^{t} and her sd husband for his interest to pay to Arch^{d} Bogle, the Collecter, fourtie pound Scots for her bygane transgressione, for the use of the poor, to be disposed upon by the baillie and facultie." On her plea of poverty, the fine was remitted at the next meeting.

CHAPTER IX

THE FACULTY AT THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

THE last meeting of the Faculty in the seventeenth century, of which the record has been preserved, was held on 28th June, 1688: the earliest extant minute of the eighteenth century bears date 8th November, 1733. For a period little short of half a century we have no official record of the proceedings. But the want of the minutes is to some extent made up by other available sources of information. In the interest of historical continuity it fortunately happened that during the larger part of this period the transactions of the Faculty were more than ordinarily matters of public concern. Notices of them accordingly survive in recorded judicial proceedings, and in the Municipal Records.[1] From these sources we can gather with accuracy and tolerable fulness the movements and principal matters of interest which concerned the body during this half century. That everything has thus been preserved which one would like to know we cannot assert. The continuity of the roll of members cannot now be recovered, and many matters of detail are irrecoverably lost. Yet enough has been preserved to console us for what is lost.

For the Faculty the whole period was one strongly marked by feud and struggle. The contest which falls to be recorded in this chapter was one between the Faculty and their Corporate Superior under the "Seal of Cause"—the Town Council of Glasgow. This relation to the municipal authority was one which had been voluntarily assumed by the Faculty. The charter of James VI. in favour of Peter Lowe enjoined the magistrates to give executive effect to the decisions of the Corporation; yet the latter was not by it placed in any relation of burghal subjection to the municipal authority. But what the charter did not apparently do was effected by the "Letter of Deaconry," applied for and obtained from the magistrates in 1656. By

[1] For access to the Municipal Records we have to express indebtedness to the courtesy of Dr. (now Sir) James Marwick, the Town-Clerk.

this charter the surgeons and the barbers were constituted a city incorporation. We have already pointed out the effect of this act on the position of the body. It gave to it a new constitution without abrogating the one already existing. This dual aspect of the Faculty—with one charter from the State, and another from the City; the former giving jurisdiction over four counties, the latter limited to Glasgow—though it often perplexed the surgeons, was never entirely lost sight of by them; but the distinction was too fine to be always apprehended by others, even by the Town Council. That body regarded the incorporation of surgeons and barbers as exactly on a footing of equality with that of the baxters or maltsters. They looked for the same allegiance and obedience from them in all things pertaining to the crafts as from any other of the city guilds. This the Faculty were not always disposed to yield.[1] Unless by mutual forbearance, therefore, a conflict of jurisdiction was inevitable. It first took place in this way. The Faculty, in 1679, in their corporate wisdom, passed the following Act (25th March): "The qlk day the members of the said ffaculty present, taking to ther serious considerationes the prejudice that may arise through their promiscuous admission of strangers to practise chirurgerie and pharmacie within the city of Glasgow; and that be their gift from King James of blessed memorie, and Ratification thereof, they are empowered to mak statutes for the common weil of the leidges anent the sds arts; Have for preventing yreof for the future statuted and ordanit, likeas they theirby unanimously statute and ordain that no person or persons qtsevir shall in any tyme coming be admitted to practise ether of the saidis airts of chirurgerie and pharmacie w^in the citie of Glasgow, but such as either have served their prentisehip with any frieman or member of the ffacultie for the tyme, for the space of fyve years, conforme to indentors in communi formâ; And have conforme thereto receivit from his master meat and drink and bedding within his house, the said space; or otherways be ane frieman's son or maried to ane frieman's dochter, with the qualificationes allwayes sutable and necessar for aither of the saids arts, with this provision allways, That it shall be in the power of the Magistrats of Glasgow for the tyme (in caice of deficiencie of qualified persons chyrurgianes in the place) to call ane or more weel experienced in the saids airts to reside in the city: the intrants in that caice being allways subject to the tryall of the facultie for their qualifications, and paying their friedome fyne for the maintenance of ther poor, according to ther Acts and Statuts."

In the next chapter we shall find that the snug family arrangement referred to above was one fraught with consequences for which the surgeons

[1] It must, however, be kept in mind that though we have used the word "Faculty" to denote the body in either of its aspects, it was generally used to designate it as constituted by Royal Charter. As a municipal craft it was the "Incorporation of Chirurgeons and Barbers."

had not bargained. But the immediate effect of the new rule was to bring the Faculty into collision with the Town Council. Hardly had it come into operation before what they considered a suitable case for its enforcement occurred. Indeed there is a strong presumption, in view of the dates and what subsequently occurred, that the law was made to exclude this particular applicant. This was Mr. Henry Marshall, a surgeon who had about this time come to Glasgow from Kilsyth. At all events, on his applying for admission, he was at once confronted with the new law. Being neither the son, son-in-law, nor apprentice of a member, he was declared inadmissible. Marshall at once appealed to the Town Council, and that body called on the Faculty to show cause why he should not be admitted to trial as a surgeon. The Faculty declined to assign any reason, but persisted in their refusal. The Town Council appear thereupon to have consulted the Trades' House, and, fortified by the opinion of a majority of that body, proceeded at once, without further ado, on their own authority to admit Marshall to practise surgery within the burgh, "alse amplie in all respects as if he were admitted freeman with the said calling of chyrurgeons." The "said calling," it need hardly be said, were equally astonished and indignant. At once they began to look to their arms. It was clear that if the magistrates could legally do this thing, the Faculty's occupation was gone. For an upstart unfreeman to be authorized to "practise their arts over their bellies," as they indignantly put it, was a thing not to be borne. How far the magistrates acted within their powers under the Letter of Deaconry need not be here discussed. They had probably ample power to reinstate a craftsman who had been wrongously excluded from his guild; and this much may be said for the municipal authorities, that though this was the first time they had admitted a man to practise in the town on their own authority, they appear to have on several occasions invited surgeons to Glasgow, or offered them inducements to settle there, apparently without consulting the Faculty, and without remonstrance on their part. Thus in 1636 they remitted the freedom fyne of George Michelsoune,[1] who proposed to come to Glasgow, and who actually entered the Faculty next year. In 1648 Arthur Tempill was invited more than once by the Council to settle in Glasgow.[2] He did not come, however, but settled as a surgeon in Edinburgh, which city he subsequently represented in the Scottish Parliament. In that case the Council "granted and enacted themselfs to entre him frie with the calling of Chirurgeounes"—certainly a stretch of authority. In 1656 the Council offered William Souter inducements to settle as city stone-cutter.[3] In their action in Marshall's case, the magistrates went a step further. They failed, however, to realize that the Faculty, though in one respect a city incorporation, was something more; and that the admission of a surgeon as a member was a power

[1] *Extracts from the Records of the Town Council of Glasgow*, 1881, 42.
[2] *Op. cit.*, 152, 169. [3] *Op. cit.*, 327, 420.

which they owed primarily to royal and parliamentary, and not to municipal grant. The ire of the members of the Faculty did not prevent them from making sure of their ground before launching on a sea of litigation. In the five years subsequent to 1679, when the Records of the century cease, we have now and again notices of what was being done. At one time the visitor would be dispatched "east" to Edinburgh "anent Marshall's case"; opinions of Counsel are referred to in the case, and the Treasurer's accounts show that the funds are being drawn upon to a considerable extent for the preliminary procedure. At last they raised an "Action of Declarator" against the Magistrates and Town Council, and for several years this litigation appears to have been depending before the Court of Session. The most eminent Counsel at the Scottish bar were engaged on both sides: for the Faculty, Mr. Hugh Dalrymple, afterwards Lord President; and for the Magistrates, Mr. James Stewart, sen., afterwards Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees. The latter contended that the Faculty might any day do essential injury to the City by so reducing the number of persons eligible for admission as freemen that there would not be a sufficient number of surgeons for the public wants. Their object he declared to be, by means of the reduction of competition, to enhance the value of their own professional services. Under shelter of the royal charter they ought not to be allowed to make statutes inimical to the common weal of the burgh. The reply of the Faculty was that the very statute complained of provided for the hypothetical case of a scarcity of qualified practitioners; and that the power to make such laws was necessarily limited to such as were not prejudicial to the public welfare. In the present instance it was not contended that there was any paucity of qualified surgeons in the burgh; and the power arrogated by the Magistrates to veto proceedings authorized by royal charter would involve the subordination of royal and parliamentary to municipal authority. A large part of the pleadings was too technical to be here summarized; but this is perhaps a fair outline of the arguments on both sides.

The decision was given on 9th July, 1691, and was in every point in favour of the Faculty. Three months prior to this date, however, the Town Council, finding their position legally untenable, had surrendered at discretion. In a minute, of date 9th May, they unconditionally revoked their former grant in favour of Marshall. But in thus turning him adrift they thought it right "to refer and recommend him to the Facultie, and earnestly desire them to use him civillie and discreetlie." The latter could well afford to be magnanimous in the hour of victory. At great cost they had vindicated their right to exclude him, and they could now admit him with better grace. How they arranged to get over the difficulty raised by the law of 1679 does not appear. But in a short time afterwards Marshall's name appears in the list of members; and for a considerable period he was one of the leading practitioners in Glasgow.[1]

[1] See Roll of Members in Appendix.

Though eventually victorious in this contest, the Faculty suffered much by it in its progress. In the Act of the Town Council already referred to, of date 9th May, 1691, it is admitted that the illegal admission of Marshall "has ruined the whole incorporation of Chirurgians to this day." From the same source we also learn that the surgeons had been "necessitat ever since to separatt themselves from the rest of the incorporation of trades, so that the said haill incorporation of trades has found the prejudice and loss of having a particular calling disjoined from them, and has sustained a considerable loss in the maintenance of their wholl poor." This is confirmed by an examination of the list of the deacons of incorporations and of the Trades' House, none being given of the surgeons and barbers in the lists from 1679, when the case went to court, till 1709.[1]

Of the propriety of the "Act" of 1679 any opinion from the standpoint of over two centuries later would be of little value. Of its legality the judges of the Court of Session appear to have entertained no doubt; and they were equally clear "that the Magistrates and Counsell of Glasgow have no right nor power to warrand or authorize any person to exercise Chirurgerie or Pharmacie within the city of Glasgow except such as are duly approven of by the Visitors." But that such a regulation was ever workable, in view of the fact that the number of apprentices was small—probably not more than one to each surgeon at one time[2]—proves clearly enough that Glasgow was, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, not only a town of no great size, but that its yearly rate of increase must have been small. With a limited number of apprentices, a rapidly growing community would soon have outstripped in its demand the supply of medical practitioners available under such a rule.

One important step in the progress of the Faculty falls here to be recorded. For nearly a century they had been without a local habitation, holding their meetings in various places, but latterly most frequently in the Crafts' Hospital and Hutchesons' Hospital. From a memorial presented to the Town Council in 1697 by Mr. James Weir, then visitor of the Faculty, we gather that the Faculty had lately acquired a property contiguous to the Tron Church, on the west side, which they proposed to take down and rebuild on a plan (which is described), "not only for the publik decoration of the street, but also for ane publik Hall to the faculty for y^r publik meetings, and more particularly for y^r meetings the first Munday of ilk moneth of the y^r, for communicating to the necessity of the poor gratis, conform to their gift and charter." The object of the memorial was to obtain a right to a certain "throwgang," and in this they succeeded. The hall which the Faculty erected was a one-storey building which, with the tenement of which it formed part, projected into the street, and had six or eight windows looking towards the north. The whole of this tenement

[1] Cleland's *Annals of Glasgow*, Vol. I. 455. [2] See *Letter of Deaconry*, Appendix III.

was subsequently acquired by the City, and it was taken down and the site rebuilt on so lately as 1858.

This hall adjoining the Tron Church remained their home till 1791, when they migrated to St. Enoch's Square. Coincident with their entering on the possession of this hall in 1698 was the commencement of the formation of a medical library, as more particularly adverted to in a subsequent chapter [XXII].

CHAPTER X

THE CONTEST BETWEEN THE SURGEONS AND BARBERS, 1700–1722

THE action against the Town Council, recorded in the last chapter, had scarcely been fought and won when the Faculty found themselves in an intestine war, which lasted, with periods of intermission, for upwards of twenty years. It originated in the ill-starred union of surgeons and barbers, effected by the Letter of Deaconry of 1656. Up to this period we have heard very little of the barbers. All through the minutes, up to 1684, when the Records cease for nearly half a century, this reticence about the barbers is very marked.[1] Now and again, at considerable intervals, the admission of a person "to barbourize" is indeed recorded, with the usual caution that he is to "meddle with no points of Chirurgie," under pain of the statutory penalties. Occasionally, at the end of the sederunt of members, occurs the name of a solitary barber distinguished as such. But the name thus included is often that of the acting officer. It seems very doubtful whether the barbers in any numbers were ever present in the seventeenth century as members of the Corporation. There are no proceedings recorded with which the barbers, as such, could have any special concern, unless such prohibitive statutes as those against "barbourizing" on Sunday.[2] We are therefore probably justified in saying that up to the end of the seventeenth century the barber element in the incorporation was inconsiderable and of small influence. That in being thus quietly ignored these craftsmen sustained substantial injustice is more than probable. By the Letter of Deaconry they were in all respects placed on a corporate equality with the surgeons, except that they were not eligible for the office of visitor. But

[1] In the printed pleadings in Calder's Case (chap. xii., p. 102), it is mentioned that two sets of minute books were kept, one for the body acting under Royal Charter, and the other for the surgeons and barbers acting under the Letter of Deaconry. If this be correct it would account for the rarity with which the barbers are mentioned in the existing minutes. There is, however, no other evidence of this averment, which is quite improbable.

[2] Chap. VIII. 72.

they appear to have been systematically excluded from all offices. Up to the end of the seventeenth century the barbers, as far as appears, bore the burden of exclusion with uncomplaining meekness. But scarcely had the eighteenth century dawned than they showed symptoms of restiveness under the yoke. In 1701 they appear to have laid their grievances before the Trades' House, but as far as has been traced no particular result followed. In 1703[1] the barbers appealed directly to the Council. Their petition set forth that "the Chirurgions hes committed many unwarrantable encroachments upon the interest of the barbers contrary to the letter of Deaconry." They proceed to supplicate for inquiry and redress, or, alternatively, that "they fall about some method of disjoyning the barbers from the Chirurgeons." This is the earliest suggestion we have of a possible separation, and it will be noted that it came from the barbers. The Town Council remitted the matter to a committee, who did not present their report till 8th May, 1704. From their own account the work of the committee during these six months was anything but a sinecure. They had sent a copy of the barbers' petition to the visitor of the Faculty (who, by the way, was Mr. Henry Marshall, whose admission to practise by the Town Council had given occasion to the litigation of 1680-91), with instruction to him to summon a meeting of the surgeons to prepare answers to the complaints in the petition; answers were given in at a meeting with representatives of both parties; and it had turned out on inquiry that these answers were those of Marshall himself, and not of the whole surgeons, whom he had never taken the trouble to consult. They state that the meeting was adjourned to have the answers adopted by the surgeons, and that these were again answered by the barbers. The proceedings of next meeting were invalidated by an omission similar to that which had formerly occurred. Mr. Marshall admitted that he had forgotten to summon a meeting of the surgeons to homologate the report, and craved a further adjournment. This was granted, though from their tone the reporters now evidently suspected that the surgeons were playing fast and loose with them. At the next meeting Mr. Marshall stated that he was not commissioned to give any reply to the charges regarding the violation of the Letter of Deaconry; that that document was one which now required revision, some of its provisions being distasteful to the surgeons, and that obedience to these was incompatible with the carrying out of the provisions of the grant of James VI.

This very long report, of part of which the above is a condensed summary, was adopted by the Council. The surgeons were peremptorily enjoined to conform to the Letter of Deaconry, and plainly told that their plea that the gift of King James was to over-ride that Letter was wholly inadmissible.

The barbers had so far gained their point; but the surgeons had evidently no intention of discontinuing their habit of lording it over them, although the

[1] Minutes of Town Council, 30th October, 1703.

latter were naturally less disposed than ever to submit to the yoke. In 1706 we find them again knocking at the door of the Council. The usual procedure of appointing a committee, who called for written statements on both sides, was gone through, and on 16th September, 1707, the Council gave their decision. This was again favourable to the barbers. From the terms of this award, it appears that the principal grievances of the barbers were these: That the surgeons restricted to a small number the barbers whom they admitted, excluding many who were qualified for membership; that they usurped all, or nearly all, the corporate offices; that the barbers were not summoned to attend meetings; and that when differences arose between surgeons and barbers, the former paid the law expenses from the corporate purse, leaving the barbers to meet theirs from their own pockets. The judgment of the Town Council made provision for redressing all these grievances, at the same time protecting the surgeons from any interference of the barbers in matters purely surgical. The Council intimated that their award was given not only in the "capacity of arbitrators, but also as their Superior, having power to determine all such differences," and that they expected that it would "be inviolably obeyed, and observed by them in all tyme hereafter."

The Town Council must have been very sanguine indeed if they entertained any such visionary hope. The decision, however, was followed by one effect, which disturbed the numerical balance of parties. There at once took place such an influx of barbers that in the next year they appear to have considerably outnumbered the surgeons. In that year both parties evidently contemplated a disruption as an impending possibility, for which immediate provision ought to be made. They had accordingly to face the very delicate question of how to make an equitable apportionment of the corporate property. This was a more complicated matter than might at first sight appear. Part of the goods had accresced to the body under the Royal Charter, and part under the Letter of Deaconry. The former belonged exclusively to the physicians and surgeons, and the latter to the surgeons and barbers. The arrangement eventually come to and subscribed by both parties was to this effect: That the library, anatomical preparations, and "rarities" were to be regarded as the property of the Faculty, acting under Royal Charter. The Faculty Hall in Trongate, with pictures and furniture, was to be regarded as the common property of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, and of the Incorporation of Chirurgeons and Barbers. The whole remaining property, heritable and movable, was to be allocated in the following proportion,—three-fifths to the Faculty, and two-fifths to the incorporated joint trade of surgeons and barbers. The deed of agreement, which is very elaborate and detailed with painful minuteness, further contains a number of stipulations respecting the rights of parties, evidently drawn on the lines laid down by the Magistrates in the previous year. It is subscribed

by both parties, and, for the sake of preservation, a copy is ordered to be entered in the Records of the Town Council, and another, oddly enough, in the Minutes of the Kirk-Session of Glasgow.

For the next four years the Town Council appear to have enjoyed a well-earned and no doubt welcome respite from the appeals and complaints of surgeons and barbers. But in 1712 the war broke out afresh, and with increased virulence. In that year application for admission as a surgeon was made by Mr. William Stirling, a member of an old Glasgow family, and father of the founder of Stirling's Library in Glasgow. Mr. Stirling had apparently not entered the profession by the door of apprenticeship in Glasgow, but had probably climbed up by way of attendance at a foreign school. Under the law of 1679, he was clearly not admissible as a freeman. But the surgeons desired to admit him, and resolved to do so in face of that law. In consideration of his want of apprenticeship, he was to pay a freedom fine or entrance fee of 1000 merks, which, it is presumed, was the estimated aggregate of the fines and other expenses of which, as an apprentice, he would have been mulcted. But here the barbers stepped in with an unheard-of demand. They appear to have claimed that that part of the fee which was in excess of the ordinary freedom fine should be credited to *their* side of the dual corporation. The *rationale* of this demand is not quite apparent from the extant statements on the subject. Apparently the barbers thought, if there was to result any pecuniary gain from an infraction of the rules, that they should be sharers of it. On this occasion we gather that the first appeal was made to the Trades' House. That body gave their decision on 1st July, 1712; but it seems to have been so unintelligible that they had to issue another "interloquitor" to explain it. The judgment, as explained by the new reading, was in favour of the barbers, and the surgeons appealed to the Town Council. The final award gave to the barbers even more than they appear to have asked for. It was decided that in the particular case which led to the quarrel, the entire fee was to be applied to the common stock of surgeons and barbers. Up to this time the Town Council had listened to the interminable quarrels of the two parties with the utmost patience and forbearance, and in sifting the complaints brought before them had spared neither time nor labour. But now it is evident that municipal patience was nearly exhausted, and something like a groan for the first time escapes them in giving this last verdict. "Much trouble," say the arbiters, "hes been given to ye Town Councill." They now resolve to apply a drag to the quarrelsome pace of the parties by enacting "that if either of the sd parties, chirurgians or barbers, shall quarrel, impugn, or controvert any part of the above sentence, or shall by any process reclaime or pretend to exemption therefrom, that the partie, quarrelling or reclaiming by any process, shall have no access to the common stock for defraying any part of the expenses y^anent."

For four years again the surgeons and barbers appear to have ceased from troubling the Town Council. At the end of that period the war broke out afresh, and in 1719 it reached a crisis. The *casus belli* on this occasion was the scope and meaning to be assigned to the oft-mentioned law of 1679, by which the membership was restricted to the sons, sons-in-law, and apprentices of members: in the words of the law itself, to "such as ether hev served their prentisship with ane freeman or member of the facultie, . . . or otheways be ane freeman's son, or maried to ane freeman's dochter." Up to this time it had been assumed, apparently without any dispute or discussion, that as an entrant on admission was made free only of his own calling, so the apprentices, sons, and sons-in-law were qualified or eligible for admission as freemen only of their respective arts. This was beyond doubt the sense in which the framers of the Act interpreted it, for at the time it was passed the barber element was relatively insignificant. But things were now greatly altered; the barbers felt themselves a power in the body corporate. They were also flushed with victory, having been found in the right in every contest in which they had been engaged with the surgeons. The immediate occasion of the question being now raised cannot be gathered from the Records. It may possibly have occurred to some aspiring barber, with a mind as keen as one of his own razors, that the law of 1679 was susceptible of a wider interpretation than that which custom had assigned to it. Was not the barber, equally with the surgeon, a freeman of the corporation? If so, why should not his son, son-in-law, and apprentice, equally with those of the surgeon, be admissible *as surgeons*, provided on trial they were found qualified? All at once a tempting vista of ambition was opened up to the barbers. The younger generation of them would be able to throw aside the razor and shaving-brush, and, by a rapid metamorphosis, emerge as fully-fledged surgeons. In vain the surgeons represented, on the claim being first advanced, that the barbers were incorporated with them *qua* barbers; that the very object of the law of 1679 was to ensure that the surgeon-entrant had obtained a proper training in the art of chirurgerie; and that it would be simply monstrous to hold men qualified to be taken on trial as surgeons who had only been trained to "barbourize." The barbers determined to test the question by appeal. On the matter coming in the first instance before the Trades' House, the decision was entirely in favour of the barbers. The surgeons thereupon appealed to the Town Council, who appointed a committee, with the Provost as convener, to consider the question. On that committee reporting, the Council gave their decision on 7th November, 1719: "They are of opinion, that, seeing by the letter of Deaconrie, the surgeons and barbers are incorporat into one body and incorporation without distinction, upon the joynt application of surgeons and barbers, and that there is no difference thereby made anent the soum to be paid for the admission of a member to any of the said

professions; . . . and that all the acts made, either by the surgeons or barbers, from excluding persons from those employments, are only against unfreemen; . . . and that seeing every surgeon and barber is a freeman of the incorporation, and that thereby their sons, sons-in-law, and prentices have an equal priviledge to be admitted members of the incorporation according to what, upon tryall, they shall be found qualified to practise, and that the surgeons cannot be thereby prejudiced, as if strangers craving to be admitted with the barbers,"[1]—for these and other reasons of a like nature the Town Council dismiss the surgeons' appeal, and affirm the decision of the Trades' House.

It is with curious interest that, having read this decision, one turns over the leaves of the Records of the Town Council to ascertain what the surgeons would do in the face of it. Perfectly just and legal it may have been under the Letter of Deaconry; but surely there could not have been a more complete *reductio ad absurdum* of the position of the surgeons as corporate partners with the barbers. But the surgeons at last rose to the occasion. On 19th December, 1719, they formally gave in to the Town Council a "Demission and Renunciation of the Letter of Deaconry." This document is couched in language firm and dignified, yet temperate. Beginning with a historical preamble, they advert to the ground of dispute, and point out that the adverse decision deprives them of any advantage which the fact of their incorporation by the Council could yield. They admit that their difficulties have largely arisen from the complications inseparable from their dual constitution, or, as they put it, "by ane mixed state, which has been so intricating and perplexing to us, and the neighbourhood,"—by this last phrase probably meaning the Town Council and Trades' House. They request the Town Council to make an equitable division of the common stock, promising to yield obedience to their award. Finally, to show that the state of chronic warfare in which they had spent the last twenty years was alien to their natural disposition, they conclude; "We being most firmly resolved to follow our own affairs, and duly and faithfully to execute the trust given to us by the foresaid charter, for the good of all his Majesties lieges, and to cultivate peace and good understanding with all our neighbours, which the misunderstanding of our several interests by the foresaid letter of deaconry has so long and much hindered." This renunciation is subscribed by fourteen surgeons, being probably the whole, or nearly the whole, of those resident in Glasgow. It is engrossed in the Records of the Town Council, of date 22nd September, 1722, on which day the Magistrates and Town Council formally accepted the Demission and Renunciation, and declared the Letter of Deaconry "to be in all tyme coming null and

[1] In a law suit which took place in 1816, it was stated in the pleadings that in Glasgow, though the crafts of dyers and bonnet-makers are joined in one incorporation, a member of the one craft could not exercise the other without serving an apprenticeship to it.

void." Why it happened that a period of three years intervened between the Renunciation and its acceptance is not apparent from the Records of the Council. There is no notice of any further negotiations having been carried on in the meantime, or of any unexpected difficulties having arisen. But it is apparent that this interval was a period of anarchy in the disrupted body. On the 27th June, 1720, the barbers lodged a complaint that they had now no representative in the Trades' House. The visitor had evidently acted on the Letter of Renunciation, and treated the disruption as an accomplished fact. Commiserating their desolate condition, the Town Council appointed the Deacon Convener to act *ad interim* as "Deacon of the Incorporation of Surgeons and Barbers," and this appointment was repeated in the subsequent year. In apportioning the corporate stock, the Magistrates adhered closely to the agreement of 1708,[1] assigning three-fifths to the Faculty and two-fifths to the Incorporation of Surgeons and Barbers. Of the latter portion the barbers received one-half, or one-fifth of the entire stock. In this way they hived off with £2116 5s. 10d. Scots, and were immediately re-incorporated by a new Letter of Deaconry. The record of the Town Council concerning the award enters with great minuteness into the financial part of the arrangement. The barbers were paid out in money, the Faculty having taken over the hall and other real property at a valuation.

Thus terminated the connection between surgeons and barbers in Glasgow. In Edinburgh the union between them came to an end, as already stated, in 1719, the year in which the surgeons in Glasgow renounced the Letter of Deaconry. In the former city the separation does not appear to have been so thorough and absolute. The barbers in Edinburgh were still obliged to enter their apprentices in the register kept by the surgeons, whilst the latter burdened themselves to pay in perpetuity to the barbers an annual sum of ten pounds sterling, which item accordingly figures in their accounts till this day. In London, as already stated, the separation did not take place till 1745, while in Dublin the connection lingered on nominally till about 1840, but probably practically ceased in 1784. In regard to Glasgow, the wonder is that with tastes and tempers so obviously incompatible, the separation did not take place some years earlier. It is impossible, however, to avoid seeing that it was no sense of incongruity on the part of the surgeons that brought the union to an end. In all these later negotiations we find no murmur from the surgeons that their professional position was in any way compromised. The union broke down because it latterly became unworkable. That it did not come to an end earlier was simply because the barbers did not earlier realize their own power. As soon as they thoroughly rose to the sense of their corporate equality, the separation became inevitable.[2]

[1] P. 85.

[2] The barbers appear to have cast some "longing, lingering looks behind," if we may

It would have interrupted the continuity of the narrative of the quarrels between surgeons and barbers to mention in its chronological position another dispute which the Faculty had with the Town Council in the early part of the century. In 1704 the Faculty made application to the municipal authorities for exemption from watching, warding, and wappenschawing, with other kindred services obligatory on the lieges at that time. The desired immunity was refused on the ground that, in common with the other incorporated crafts, the surgeons were legally liable to such offices under the Letter of Deaconry. Some years later the Faculty applied to the Circuit Justiciary Court, and were successful in making good their claim under the Royal Charter for complete exemption, not only from the services referred to, but also from attendance as jurymen at Courts of Assize. The "Act of Adjournal" recording the exemption is dated 12th October, 1709.

judge from the fact that for the next thirty or forty years individual members of the craft were often brought up and fined for practising some parts of surgery. But the rank and file of the craft could hardly be expected to keep out of the forbidden preserve when it was boldly poached on by the very deacon of the order. Thus in 1742 Deacon William King was fined in the statutory sum, though the fine was subsequently remitted on his pleading "straightened circumstances"; while Deacon Alexander Edwards was more than once punished for the same offence.

CHAPTER XI

THE FACULTY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

FOR the materials of the last two chapters we were obliged to draw upon sources of information outside the Faculty Records. From judicial reports which have been preserved we have been able to present the progress and result of the litigation with the Town Council; whilst the Minutes of the latter body, eked out by information from other sources, have been laid under contribution in respect of the narrative of the war in its successive campaigns between surgeons and barbers. That contest ended, the Town Council Minutes afford us no further assistance. With the renunciation of the Letter of Deaconry, the saying and doings of the surgeons ceased to be matters of municipal concern. To fill up the blank in the history of the next twelve years no vicarious record has been found. The first extant Minute of the eighteenth century accounts for the wide gap of nearly fifty years in the official records of the body. For this reason, notwithstanding the length of the Minute, it is given entire.

> "At, and within the Physicians and Surgeons Hall in Glasgow, the Eighth day of November, One thousand seven hundred and thirty-three years.
>
> "Convened in faculty, Mr. Peter Paton, Mr. George Thomson, Mr. Thomas Brisbane, Mr. John Johnstoun, Mr. John Wodrow, and Mr. David Paton, all Physicians and members of faculty; and Alexander Porterfield, Thomas Hamilton, James Calder, senior, Mr. William Stirling, John Gordon, Robert Wallace, Thomas Buchanan, Alexander Horseburgh, James Hamilton, John Paisley, and James Calder, junior, all Surgeons in Glasgow and Members of Faculty.
>
> "Act anent the faculty's loss by fire."
>
> "The which day, the foresaid persons being the whole members alive residing in the place (except Thomas Dougald, Surgeon, absent for the day), Considering That their late Sederunt-Book containing their Elections, Acts, Proceedings, Rules, Regulations, and others was burnt in the house of John Colquhoun, Writer in Glasgow, Clerk of faculty, by ane accidental

fire, which began in a neighbouring house, and seized upon his house the twenty-ninth of October last, seen by many of these persons, members of the faculty, and further made appear in faculty by some remains of the said book now produced not altogether consumed by the said fire, and that upon the first Monday of October last the sd Mr. George Thomson was elected Praeses; the said James Hamilton, Visitor; the saids Mr. David Paton, and Boxmasters; the said Robert Wallace, Collector; the said John Colquhoun, continued Clerk, and Alexander Colquhoun, Messenger, continued Officer, all of them to the said Faculty unto the first Monday of October next, being the next ordinar time of electing their officers, and that the saids persons office-bearers had accordingly accepted their several offices, and given their oaths *de fidele*. Towards the supplying of which loss by fire, and again constituting the members officebearers in faculty conform to their former elections and rules made in consequence of the Royal Charter granted them, They, the forenamed whole members of faculty present, Doe now Ratifie, approve of, and confirm the sd severall office-bearers in the said severall offices, with all the powers and priveleges belonging thereto as formerly used and practised. And, further, towards supplying the said loss, the faculty being as aforesaid again constituted appoint and ordain their sd Praeses and Visitor, Doctor Paton, elder; Doctor Wodrow, Alexander Horsburgh, and John Paisley, or any three of them, the Praeses or Visitor being always one, To meet, advise, consider, and report from time to time with their conveniency the most proper methods to be used, and steps to be followed towards farder supplying the loss foresaid of the sd faculty Book, and also appoint them the next diet of the faculty's meeting to give in ane account of charge of the poor's or faculty's money, as the same ought to be charged upon the present Collector.

"Said day the subscribing physicians and surgeons being all of them much inclined to encourage and promote the good design of maintaining the poor in a workhouse already built at Glasgow,[1] for that purpose, Do hereby in full faculty voluntarily condescend and agree among themselves That each of the six physicians subscribing will, according to their seniority as physicians admitted (Mr. Peter Paton beginning as eldest), attend and visit for the space of a year from the time of the poors' being first put in sd workhouse the poor people to be kept in the Infirmary there and give their advice and prescriptions as to the sick and infirm from time to time as needfull; and that each of the eleven surgeons subscribing, according to their seniority as members of the Faculty (Alexander Porterfield as eldest beginning), will for the space of half ane year commencing from the time of the poor being first put in the sd workhouse, visit and as surgeon attend the sd House and do all the necessary business of a Surgeon to the poor in the Infirmary there, and furnish to them upon his own charge all drugs and medicaments necessary, or to be prescribed by the physicians"

[1] P. 136.

Octr 1, 1739,
ROBERT BOGLE, agrees.
H. M'LEAN, agrees.
DAV. CORBETT, agrees.

ALEX^{R}. PORTERFIELD.
THOMAS HAMILTON.
JAMES CALDER, Senior.
WILLIAM STIRLING.
J. GORDON.
ROBERT WALLACE.
T. BUCHANAN.
ALEX. HORSBURGH.
JAMES HAMILTON.
JOHN PAISLEY.
JAMES CALDER, Jun^{r}.

P. PATOUN, M.D.
GEO. THOMSON, M.D.
J. BRISBANE, M.D.
JO. JOHNSTOUN, M.D.
JOHN WODROW, M.D.
DAV: PATOUN, M.D.

July 5, 1736.
GEO. MONTGOMERY, M.D.

Unfortunately no artist of the time had the opportunity of transferring to canvass the faces of these ancient fathers of medicine and surgery in Glasgow, in solemn conclave assembled, with rueful faces contemplating the charred remains of the book "containing their Elections, Acts, Proceedings, Rules, Regulations and others." The picture must therefore be left to the imagination, and all that can be done is to present the reader with a facsimile of their signatures. The loss was indeed irreparable, but their modern successors need not on that account be inconsolable. A good many curious incidents and details which one would like to know must have perished with the book. But the loss scarcely involves any solution of historical continuity, as the main drift of events is manifest from documents still preserved. In dismissing the subject of the burnt volume we may mention that the committee appointed under the foregoing Minute met from time to time, and one or two members were even added to it in subsequent years. But they incubated on their report so long that it never saw the light.

Cut adrift from its municipal connection, the constitution of the Faculty at once reverted to its original simplicity. The body now consisted of physicians admitted on election in virtue of the possession of a University degree, and of surgeons admitted after examination. Each class of members had its own official head. The "praeses" was the chief of the physicians, while the "visitor" occupied a corresponding relation to the surgeons. These dignitaries were invested with co-ordinate authority, each of them having the power of convening a meeting of the Faculty without the consent of the other. During the whole period in which this dual presidency existed there is no evidence of the slightest jar or want of harmony between the two parties. When the praeses (or physician-visitor as he was often called) was present, he presided at the meetings; in his absence, the surgeon-visitor. This arrangement continued till the year 1820, about which period, as we shall afterwards see, the possession of a University degree by not a few of the surgeons began somewhat to blur the formerly clear-cut line of demarcation between that class and the physicians. It was some years after that date that the visitor, while retaining the old name, fell back into

the position of Vice-President, which in substance, though not in name, he has ever since retained, while physicians and surgeons became alike eligible for both offices.

The mode of electing the praeses and the visitor in the eighteenth century may be here described. It will have been gathered from what we have said that the physicians alone elected the praeses, while the visitor was in like manner chosen by the votes of the surgeons. The physicians were divided into two "lites" or sections, and one man chosen by ballot from each. The two thus selected were then by a second vote pitted against each other, the one having the highest number of votes being declared praeses. The visitor was elected in a similar manner by the surgeons; but in their case there were three initial sections or leets, and consequently three votes, before the matter was finally determined. The other office-bearers were elected by the whole Faculty, and directly by ballot. The "Collector" at first joined to his proper duties of treasurer that of librarian, but a separate "Bibliothecarius" was appointed shortly after the middle of the century. The office of "craftsmaster" had disappeared with the barbers and Letter of Deaconry. But the "box-masters" were still elected as of yore, and about the middle of the century a new functionary called the "seal keeper" was added with duties sufficiently indicated by the title.

From 1733 onwards the continuity of the Records is unbroken, and by their aid one can easily realize what a meeting of the Faculty was like in the first half of last century. The day of meeting was then, as it is now, the first Monday of every month—this arrangement dating from the beginning of the century. If we may judge from its position in the Minutes, the visitation of the poor was the first thing which required attention. Occasionally it happened that no poor attended for advice, and the fact was duly noted in the Records.[1] The one condition exacted of applicants, that they should be recommended by a minister, elder, or some person in public office, must have served in some measure to make their charity discriminating. As far as appears from the Minutes, the whole Faculty present originally took part in the work; but eventually a contingent was told off for the duty. The work of charity ended, the admission of new members came next in order. If admitted as a physician after being balloted for, the member-elect produced for inspection his diploma of doctor of medicine of "ane famous university where medicine is taught." As a doctor of medicine did not in these days practise as a general practitioner, but as a "pure" physician, eschewing surgery, the admission of a member of this class was much less common than the entrance of a surgeon. If the doctor of medicine attempted general or surgical practice, as on one or two occasions did happen, he was at once treated by the Faculty as a surgeon, and subjected to examination as such. Thus, in 1745, Dr. Andrew Morris, a

[1] See in Appendix V, Notanda on Glasgow Poor.

graduate of the University of Rheims, insisted on his claim, in virtue of his possessing a university degree, to open a surgery in Glasgow and practising as a general practitioner. His right to do so was challenged by the Faculty, and he was held liable to be mulcted in the statutory penalty of £40 Scots. Instead of paying it, he raised an action of Suspension against the Faculty, the litigation extending over several years. At last, however, he surrendered at discretion, submitted himself to examination, paid the dues, and was admitted as a surgeon. The possession of the doctorate had in these days its disadvantages, and was not in all cases an object of ambition. The young practitioner could not generally afford to graduate till he had gained an established position. It was for this reason that men like Dr. John Gordon and Dr. John Moore, names well known in Glasgow in the last century, declined to take the doctorate, the latter till middle age, and the former till he was well advanced in life.[1]

Surgeons were admitted only after examination, the qualification of admission being proof of an apprenticeship for five years. In the early part of the century it was still insisted that the apprenticeship should be limited to a member of the Faculty, but this rule was departed from about 1716. When the Medical School of Glasgow took practical form about the middle of the century, attendance on lectures was recognized under certain conditions as equivalent to a year of apprenticeship; and, at a still later period in the century, a rudimentary curriculum of medical study was formulated by the Faculty. In this way the time-honoured law of apprenticeship became first modified and eventually abrogated as a pre-requisite for admission to examination. The nature of the examination in last century is a matter of some interest. Though some considerable modifications were effected in the latter half of the century, the following may be taken as descriptive of its general plan. The test was divided into two parts—the first known as the "private," and the last as the "public" trial. The private examination was of the most importance. The candidate was tested on both the theory and the practice of his profession. If he failed in this part he was not allowed to "proceed to further trials," as the Records phrase it. If, however, he was successful, he was ordered to reappear at the next meeting of the Faculty, and then and there to dissect a previously prescribed part, to discourse on a set surgical or medical theme, and, finally, to make up a complex pharmaceutical preparation. The real test was doubtless the private examination. The circumstance of the subjects of the public examination

[1] The universities of which the physician members of the Faculty were graduates in the eighteenth century were mainly those of Glasgow, Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Leyden, Utrecht, Rheims. Aberdeen was perhaps not represented till the beginning of the next century. In regard to St. Andrew's and Aberdeen, the question was subsequently raised whether either answered the description of "Ane famous university where medicine is taught." The Court of Session declined to say that it was not.

being definitely prescribed beforehand, detracted from its value as a criterion of knowledge. The private equally with the public examination was at first conducted in presence of the assembled Faculty. About the year 1740, this arrangement of the Faculty resolving itself into an Examining Board was felt to be cumbrous and inconvenient. A committee was accordingly appointed on each occasion to conduct the private examination and to report. If the report were unfavourable, the candidate had the option of appeal to the Faculty. Of this privilege the examinees were sometimes not slow to avail themselves, but scarcely ever with the result of altering the verdict. When the committee had examined the candidate its work was done. For the testing of the next candidate another, and probably enough a different committee, was appointed. In course of time this method also was found to be practically inconvenient, and it was superseded by the appointment annually of a standing committee charged with the duty of examining applicants. Such was the mode of evolution of the Board of Examiners.

The examination of candidates concluded, another piece of business of frequent occurrence,—in the earlier part of the century perhaps more common than any other,—was their dealing with unlicensed practitioners. Not seldom did it happen that one or two, sometimes as many as five or six, of such persons were in attendance, having been brought up on summons; not now, as in the previous century, on caption or letters of horning. The delinquents were called in before the meeting, and interrogated as to their alleged practising of medicine or surgery. They belonged to all ranks of life and occupations—discharged soldiers, gardeners who had discovered salves of miraculous virtue, schoolmasters, professional bone-setters, and even itinerant mountebanks. One clergyman, the minister of Cumbernauld, is among the list, though, from the not uncommon clerical itching to dabble in medicine, one might have expected a larger representation of the cloth. If the delinquents admitted their fault, they were dismissed after signing an obligation, or "bond of desistance" as it was called, by which they engaged no more to poach in the forbidden preserves, on pain of the statutory penalty of £40 Scots. If they declined to attend on summons, or proved contumacious when they did so, other proceedings became necessary, and to these we will advert in the next chapter.

The allocation of charity to casual applicants formed another almost invariable piece of business at the monthly meetings. Probably in theory every benefaction of this kind had for its object some person connected in one way or another with the profession. But if this was the rule, certainly the widest possible application was given to it. The connection with medicine of many of the beneficiaries appears to have been of the most distant character. Nor was their sympathy expended on merely casual acts of charity. As we shall afterwards find they believed in systematic

for the space of one year from the time of the poore
being first put into the Workhouse & the poore people
to be kept in the Infirmary there & given their orders
and directions as to the Diet in form from time
to time as necessary and that Each of the
Eleven ——— Surgeons shall severally according to
their Seniority the members of the said Parish
Corporate & Collect beginning) Will for the space
of half one year Commencing from the time
of the poore being first put in the said workhouse &
Visite and as Surgeon attend the said house and do
all the necessary Duties of a Surgeon to the poore
in the Infirmary that shall furnish to them upon
his own charge all things & Medicaments whatsoever
or to be prescribed by the Physician ———

Dated: M: D:

Wm Cockburn

Geo: Thomson

Wm Cockburn M. D.

Robert Boyle

Wm Cockburn

Thomas Hamilton

James Calder Senior

William Hartley

Robert Wallace

July 5 1736

Alexd Monro Surgt

James Hamilton

John Fairley

Jam: Elliot Junr:

Robert Boyle agrees

Wm Cockburn agrees

John Wodrow

Dav: Paton

Geo: Martine

beneficence, and had a regular list of annual pensioners, who absorbed a large portion of the revenue. It is stated incidentally, in a memorial which the Faculty had occasion to draw up in the middle of the century, that their benefactions exceeded those of any corporate body in the City. The voting of funds for patriotic objects occasionally varied the monotony of charitable doles. Thus, in 1778, they passed a resolution to contribute one hundred guineas towards raising a battalion for His Majesty's Service, at the same time pawkily accompanying the donation with a recommendation that "Mr. Ninian Hill, a respectable member of their society," be appointed "Surgeon to the regiment now raising by the City of Glasgow."

These were the stock matters of business at the meetings of the Faculty during a large portion of last century. It need hardly be added that in addition to these many special points came up for settlement, to a very few of which reference will be made in next chapter. The difficulty of forming a quorum was occasionally much felt, and eventually stringent rules became necessary to meet the evil. Under a law, passed 4th February, 1765, every absentee was fined in sixpence, "except when in the country, or detained by sickness." The fine was subsequently doubled, and by a later enactment (June, 1768) even absence in the country did not secure exemption from it. The only exception recognized was in the case of a person who had been a member for forty years. Even the clerk in those days appears to have been touched with the prevailing infirmity of shirking the duty of attending the meetings, for it was provided that when a defaulter, he should be mulcted in the same sum as an absent member. The fines appear to have been rigorously exacted for a considerable number of years.

CHAPTER XII

THE FACULTY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY—CONTINUED

THROUGHOUT the larger part of the last century, the fees, inclusive of the "freedom fines" exacted from entrants, were levied on the principle of a differential rate. On the admission of a surgeon member the dues were exigible in all cases. But it was originally different in the case of physicians; as they were admitted without examination, so they entered without fee. But in course of time this was felt to be unfair to the surgeons. Their admission entitled them, equally with the surgeons, to all corporate privileges, including the benefits of prospective provision for their children should they eventually fall into poverty. At first the fee exacted from the physicians was not large, being two guineas in the early part of the century. But in 1736 it was doubled, and a few years later raised to six guineas, which was afterwards increased. In the latter part of the seventeenth century all surgeon members, whether in town or country, were mulcted in forty pounds Scots (£3 6s. 8d.). As time wore on there was a gradual increase of the freedom fine both of physicians and surgeons. Along with this there was still a tendency to differentiate. Thus, in 1774, the following was the tariff established, the money being sterling:

1. Physicians, having a Diploma of Doctor of Medicine from a University, to pay	£15	15	0
2. Surgeons who have served a full (*i.e.* five years') apprenticeship with a freeman within the city, to pay	5	5	0
3. Surgeons who have served four years, as above, to pay,	10	10	0
4. Surgeons who have served three years, as above, to pay,	15	15	0
[The curtailed apprenticeship being supplemented by attendance on Lectures at Medical School.]			
5. Surgeons whose apprenticeship has not been served within the city, to pay	21	0	0
6. Sons and sons-in-law of members, to pay	3	3	0

The placing of sons-in-law in the same category as sons of members, and thus securing their admission on a modified fee, was a survival. Originally it might possibly be intended by the crafts—for the practice was universal—to have the effect of enhancing, in the eyes of enamoured apprentices, the charms of their masters' daughters. These fees were exclusive of charges for library and clerk, and a small periodical impost called quarter accounts. All subsequent changes during the century were in the direction of at once raising and equalizing the fees. Thus in 1783 the relative charges were: for a surgeon, twenty-five guineas; for a physician, twenty guineas; while the sons and sons-in-law of members were let off for fifteen guineas. Three years later the fee was fixed to be the same for all classes, at twenty-five guineas. In 1787 it was raised to £30, and finally, in 1789, to fifty guineas.

There was one class of entrants upon whom this constant raising of the admission fine bore with unfair severity. Country members were excluded from any share of the government of the Faculty, which was then understood to be inalienably vested in the members who were "indwellers in Glasgow." The families of country members were, it is true, entitled to share in the corporate benefactions equally with the children of their brethren in town. But even of these it was perhaps inevitable that those on the spot should get the lion's share. The privilege of being admitted to practise "within oure burgh and baronie of Glasgow, Renfrew, Dumbartane, and oure sheriff-domes of Cliddisdale, Renfrew, Lanark, Kyle, Carrick, Air, and Cunninghame," was practically the only one which the country member received for his heavy "freedom fyne." And now that the fee was being gradually raised out of all proportion to the right conferred, it became absolutely necessary to make provision for the case of country practitioners. Hitherto every physician and surgeon admitted was equally a "freeman," or member, whether resident in town or country. This was probably involved in the original conception of the constitution of such a body. But such a provision was no longer necessary. Why not admit country applicants, if they chose so to enter, on the footing of giving them only a license to practise within the bounds, and exacting a fee commensurate with the right conferred?

Such were the considerations which led to the institution of the new grade of "licentiate." An attempt had been made in this direction as early as 1757, but, for some reason not very apparent, very few country surgeons availed themselves of the option to enter as licentiates. It was not till 1785, when the scheme of licensing was recast, and placed on a better foundation, that a good beginning was really made. This was not done a day too soon. The territory was being overrun with unqualified men. Not a few surgeons were prepared to run the risk of practising without a diploma rather than pay a fee which they doubtless considered exorbitant. As soon as the new scheme was inaugurated a considerable number came forward

and submitted themselves to examination. If successful, they had the option of entering either as freemen or as licentiates, according as they paid the fee for the one or the other. The majority entered as licentiates, though of these a number afterwards became members. The experiment of licensing began on 1st June, 1785, and by the end of the year twenty-seven licentiates had been admitted.

It does not lie within the scope of this Memoir to give a roll of the licentiates, and the limits of space preclude any reference to even selected names. It may, however, be permitted to say in a word that, on running the eye down the list of licentiates since the institution of the grade in 1785, it is arrested here and there by names which became more or less familiar in various fields. Several of them are enrolled in the long list of Glasgow worthies, some of them winning their spurs in other fields than medicine. With the name of Mr. Samuel Hunter, who inscribes his name in the Faculty Register of Licentiates of 1795 as "of the North Lowland Fencibles," a regiment of which he was first surgeon and afterwards captain, every Glasgow man is familiar. It was at first in association with a surgeon member of the Faculty, Mr. William Dunlop, that he conducted the *Glasgow Herald and Advertiser*, a paper he edited with conspicuous success for thirty-four years. Separated by only a name in the list from the entry of the genial editor is that of Duncan Macarthur, who was one of two surgeons on board Nelson's flagship, the "Victory," at Trafalgar, and who on his return to England was made a K.C.B., afterwards serving in various high positions in the navy and on shore, and before his death being called in to consult at the death-bed of another distinguished warrior, the Duke of Wellington. In 1817 occurs, as a licentiate, the name of Thomas Lyle, a Glasgow surgeon, devoted to the lyric muse, and best remembered as the author of the beautiful song, "Let us haste to Kelvingrove, bonnie lassie O," first published anonymously in the *Harp of Renfrewshire*.[1] A generation ago no name stood higher as a medical lexicographer than that of Robert G. Mayne, whose *Lexicon of Medical Terms* has been taken as the groundwork of the great lexicon in process of publication by the new Sydenham Society. Dr. Mayne was admitted a licentiate in 1837. The inscription of the name of David Livingstone, of Blantyre, bears date 16th November, 1840; and the name was added to the list of Honorary Fellows in 1857 on his return from Africa. These are only a very few of a considerable list of men who in some way or other became notable after the enrolment of their names as licentiates; and the list might be lengthened were it permissible to include the names of men still living.

It was however, at first, only in that part of their territory outside of Glasgow that the early licentiates were allowed to practise. The

[1] A copy of the *Ancient Ballads and Songs* (Lond. 1827), which he edited, is in the Faculty Library.

admission of this new order to practise within the City was not at first contemplated, and only became necessary when the membership fee became still further increased by the necessities of the Widows' Fund, which greatly drained the resources of the Faculty at the beginning of the present century.

The Faculty had, however, a class of licentiates of earlier origin than the surgeons. In 1740 they instituted an examination for midwives which was continued throughout the century. The Minute of 4th August of that year bears that "The faculty haveing considered the many dismall effects of the Ignorance of midwives, and that it is incumbent on the faculty to prevent these evills as much as they can, They Therefor Enact that, after the first of January, 1741, any midwife who shall pretend as such to practise within the Shyres of Lanark, Renfrew, Ayr, and Dumbarton without a licence from the faculty shall be fined in the sum of fourty pounds. . . . And as the ffaculty have no other view than to prevent ignorant persons from practising midwifery, They appoint that such as shall voluntarly submit to ane Examination towards their being Licensed shall pay no freedome fyne nor be at any furder charge than two shillings sixpence sterling, to be payed the Clerk for each of their Licenses." The number of applicants was considerable, but not a few were found to be ignorant, and were debarred from practice. In Glasgow, midwifery was still to a considerable extent in the hands of women, so that this class of practitioners was perhaps more numerous than the surgeons. This fact must be allowed for in any calculations in reference to the numerical proportion of medical practitioners to the population in the eighteenth century as well as that which preceded it. The extent of unlicensed medical practice during that period would be another important factor in the calculation.

This brings us back to the subject of prosecutions. We have already seen in what a summary fashion the Faculty could deal with delinquents in the seventeenth century.[1] But popular ideas regarding constitutional freedom had now greatly advanced. "General letters of horning" were now practically as antiquated as thumb-screws or "the boot." People had got to realize something of "the liberty of the subject." No man could be sent to prison unless in sequence to a more guarded legal procedure. And just in proportion to the growth of these new ideas, prosecutions by the Faculty became more troublesome and expensive. The difficulty was also greatly aggravated by the dilatoriness of the law. Legal machinery appears to have been much slower then than even in our day. Some of the Faculty cases dragged on a tedious course for a good number of years. Probably, however, this tardiness of the pace of justice operated to some extent in favour of as well as against the Faculty. Persons charged might be less willing to resist, in view of a suit to which they could not see the end. But some of the unlicensed proved provokingly contumacious,

[1] Chap. VIII. 74.

even when they did not resist to the last extremity. In 1740 a certain Thomas Lewis, described generally as a merchant in Glasgow, but who was evidently a prescribing druggist in large practice, gave them infinite trouble. Summoned to a meeting Lewis, acting at every step on legal advice, attended. Interrogated by the Praeses he declined to answer, but handed in the following protest. "I, Thomas Lewis, Junr., in Glasgow, being summoned to appear before the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow, by what authority I know not, nor for what reason or cause, and being now before them in Court, doe crave that a libel be put in my hands, and a sufficient time given me to make answers or defences, and on the Court's refusing to do so, I protest against any sentence they shall pass against me as null and void,"—with more to the same effect. In several subsequent meetings he was dealt with, but without making him resile an inch from his original line of defence. At last the corporate patience got exhausted, and the usual sentence was given. This appears to have been of no avail, as there is no evidence that the fine was ever paid. The treasurer in those days had a habit of entering unpaid fines in his accounts for several years, and then was authorized to write off these debts as "utterly desperate." The usual practice at this period was not to exact the actual fine for the first offence, but only to take the delinquent's bond for it, on the understanding that it would be enforced only in case of iterated transgression. In two or three cases the defenders fought the Faculty for every inch of ground, only yielding when the last stronghold was carried.

The case of James Calder was in some respects noteworthy. This man was originally a gardener, but set himself out to vend a secret remedy, and also to dispense drugs. Summoned to attend a court of the Faculty he obeyed, and on interrogation was found grossly ignorant, and admittedly practising medicine. In defiance of the inhibition of the Faculty he continued his practice, and on a second summons, in 1759, openly defied the members to their faces, refusing to sign any bond of desistance, or to submit to examination. The case being a flagrant one, they had no alternative but to enforce payment of the fine by legal procedure. Calder at once raised an action of Suspension, and the case was appealed from court to court, till it was finally decided against him in 1763. But the interest of the case arises from the character of the pleas in defence. Calder's Counsel adopted a line of argument substantially identical in some respects with that ingeniously used in the next century by the University of Glasgow in the famous law-suit between that body and the Faculty. The argument was one which struck at the existence and the position of the Faculty as a corporate body. In discussing the case of the University, it will be necessary to define the ground assumed more fully; here we may describe it in a sentence. The charter, it was contended, was granted to Lowe and

Hamilton in their official capacities as king's surgeon and professor of medicine; that as many of the heirs of these men as occupied the same offices, and no others, were their corporate successors; that the Faculty had therefore no claim to be regarded as successors of the original grantees, and had therefore no corporate existence at all. Stated thus briefly and baldly the argument may look paradoxical and even absurd; but it was buttressed by a curious array of special pleading. The result of Calder's case appears to have acted in diminishing quackery in the district for some years. But it soon again reared its hydra-head in another form.

The action of the Faculty in the case to be next mentioned may now appear undignified; but of this the actors themselves appear to have had no appreciation. "21st Nov^{r}, 1789. The Praeses informed the meeting that Baillie Maclehose of Glasgow had applied to him as Praeses of the Faculty to Examine Mr. Pitcairn and Mrs. Douglas, two travelling practitioners in physic and Surgery on their qualifications—that in consequence of the application the Committee for Examining practitioners went to the Council Chambers, and having examined these persons found them to be grossly ignorant both of surgery and pharmacy." The Minute winds up with the usual formula of inhibition, and an advertisement was ordered to be inserted, of which the following is a copy, taken from a Glasgow newspaper of November, 1789.

1789—November 24.—By order of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow, assembled at Glasgow, the 21st of November, 1789.

The committee appointed by the Faculty for examining all those who practise physic and surgery within the bounds afterwards mentioned, reported to the Faculty that they had been ordered by the Magistrates of Glasgow to examine two people who call themselves Mr. Pitcairn and Mrs. Douglas, who, in consequence of pompous handbills, have distributed various medicines at an enormous price; that upon examination, the committee had found them grossly ignorant of anatomy, of surgery, and of everything connected with the practice of physic; and that their medicines were of the strongest and most dangerous kinds—all of which particulars the committee had reported to the Magistrates.

The Faculty having considered the report, unanimously resolved to prohibit the foresaid Mr. Pitcairn and Mrs. Douglas, or any person connected with them, practising physic or surgery within the Burgh or Barony of Glasgow, Renfrew, Dunbarton, the Sheriffdom of Clydesdale, Renfrew, Lanark, Kyle, Carrick, Air, and Cunningham, over all which places their jurisdiction is extended by a Royal Charter, confirmed by Act of Parliament. If, after this prohibition, the foresaid Mr. Pitcairn or Mrs. Douglas, or any persons connected with them, shall vend any medicines within the bounds specified, they are liable to be fined £40 Scots each, *toties quoties*, which sum the Faculty has ordered their Preses, Visitor, and Collector to levy with the utmost rigour of the law. That the Faculty, by doing this, may be enabled to protect

the unwary from imposition, the Justices of the Peace in the counties aforesaid mentioned, the Magistrates of the different burghs, the clergy, and those practitioners who are members of Faculty, are required to give information to Dr. Cleghorn, Praeses of the Faculty, if these practitioners should appear to prey on the people in Lanarkshire, Airshire, Renfrewshire, or Dunbartonshire, as the Faculty is resolved to prosecute them with rigour. To put the people on their guard, the Faculty ordered this account of their proceedings to be published in all the Glasgow newspapers, and to be signed by their Preses, Visitor, and Collector.

ROBERT CLEGHORN, Preses.
JOHN JAMIESON, Visitor.
ROBERT SIMSON, Collector.

The spectacle of the Examining Board of the Faculty, at the behest of a magistrate, wending their way to the Municipal Council Chamber, there to examine two itinerant mountebank quacks, strikes one at the present day as somewhat odd. In most of the prosecutions mentioned in the Records there is a strong family resemblance; but some of the cases occasionally presented novel features.

In those days old soldiers, and especially old sailors, were privileged persons. An Act passed in 1784 conferred on them certain rights to practise their callings even within the jurisdiction of corporate bodies. In 1791 a surgeon, named Alexander Dunlop, who had served some time in the army subsequent to the date of the Act referred to, settled in Glasgow and began to practise. Summoned by the Faculty to show cause why he should not be subjected to examination, he pleaded that he had already been examined by "the Master Governors and Commonality of Surgeons in London," and by them authorized to serve in the navy as surgeon's mate. The Faculty doubted the validity of the tests to which he had been subjected. Possibly enough they knew no more of the London examination than could be gathered from the veracious account of it in the case of Mr. Roderick Random, written by the mercurial apprentice of Dr. John Gordon, a late President of the Faculty. Smollett's racy description could hardly impress them favourably as to the fairness or adequacy of the tests. They insisted on examining him; Dunlop was equally determined that he should *not* be examined. The case was fought in the Edinburgh courts for several years. It was decided against Dunlop, on the ground that the Act of 1784, on which he founded, was purely retrospective, and did not cover the case of those who entered the service after it was passed.

It will have been observed that in the last century the Faculty were never long without "a guid ganging law-plea," which was wont to be considered a kind of patent of gentility in the family of a well-to-do Scots laird. They were generally very successful, having up to this period scarcely ever lost a suit. But with Dunlop's case fortune appeared for a time to

turn her back upon them. For a considerable time they had been greatly exercised by a grievance, or rather a whole group of grievances, for which they had by gentle means sought redress in vain. Their sore point was that they were taxed very much like other people. They paid king's cess and poor rates, and, above all, soldiers were quartered on them as well as on their neighbours. This, they held, was not fair. Their charter gave them "immunite and exemptioune from all wappinshawingis, raidis, oistis, beiring of armour, watching, weirding, stenting taxationis," and a number of other services. They approached the magistrates on the subject; but the latter were obstinate, and declined to grant relief. The Faculty accordingly resolved in 1791 to test the legality of the exactions of which they complained. The form of process enabled them to include in the test action several other questions on which less doubt could exist. These had reference to their general rights as a corporate body instituted by charter, and especially to their power to inhibit unqualified persons from practising. These latter claims were not disputed by the magistrates, and the decision on them by Lord Eskgrave was quite satisfactory. But on the chief points the Town Council contended that the provisions of the charter were many of them antiquated and others in desuetude; that, for example, "rattan poyson" no longer represented the whole department of toxicology; that most of the services from which the charter gave exemption were no longer exacted; and that, in particular, it could not exempt from the quartering of soldiers, for the sufficient reason that there was no standing army when the charter was granted. These arguments had weight with the judges. In regard to the obnoxious billeting of soldiers, they were found not wholly entitled to exemption, nor altogether liable like other burgesses. On special occasions, when the ordinary accommodation was inadequate, the military might be quartered on them. In regard to taxation, local and imperial, they failed to persuade the judges that their case was good. This partially adverse decision brought upon them a large part of the costs of the process. At the amount of the expenses they stood aghast. To the Town Council they made a humble representation that the latter ought not to insist upon their expenses. They urged that the suit had not been conceived in any hostile spirit, but had been simply a friendly action of declarator for the laudable purpose of defining the rights of both parties. The municipal authorities, however, were so obtuse or wrongheaded as not to see the matter in exactly the same light. The payment of these expenses, to the tune of £158 6s. 7d. sterling, appears to have had the effect of damping their litigious ardour for a good many years.

In the winter of 1794-95 the Faculty had another dispute with the magistrates, in which the former were more unequivocally in the right. It arose in this way. The Praeses, Dr. James Jeffray, Professor of Anatomy in the University, had received a warrant or order from the Town Clerk,

instructing him to inspect the body of a man who had been found dead in the streets, and to make a report on the case to the proper authorities. Dr. Jeffray delayed some time in obeying the order, and in the meantime took occasion to address to the magistrates a pithy letter on the subject. He complained that he had often been harassed by being required to perform this duty when he could ill spare the time, and that he found the surgeons averse from making such examinations under the existing arrangement. This elicited a strong rejoinder from Mr. Orr, the Town Clerk. He pointed out the necessity of these examinations in the interest of society and of public justice. He took up the position that the performance of such duties constituted one of the conditions on which the Faculty held their charter. Independently of this consideration, he urged that in common law the magistrates of boroughs and the sheriffs of counties had a right to require the nearest physician or surgeon to perform such duties. On the part of the magistrates, he requested the Faculty to decide what they intended to do in the matter, as it might be necessary to bring the question before the High Court of Justiciary. In their reply the Faculty declined to discuss such an unheard-of claim as that involved in the latter part of Mr. Orr's letter. They admitted to the full the necessity of the duty being performed by competent medical men, but they denied their liability as members of the Faculty to perform such work without remuneration, or that they held their charter under any condition of gratuitous public service. They pointed out the practice of Government in remunerating every other person employed by the Crown in criminal prosecutions. They indicated their perfect willingness to perform the duty as heretofore, but they would look to the magistrates for payment. In the meantime, till an understanding was come to, the warrants would be executed by the office-bearers in rotation. After some delay, it was eventually arranged that such services should be acknowledged by a fixed fee.

This subject of professional fees is one of which it would be wrong to take no notice, as it crops up now and again in the Records. Up to the middle of the century, there appears to have been no rule in regard to the fees of physicians in the town; but under date 1st November, 1756, the Minutes bear that "as patients are uncertain how to pay physitians, and the surgeons have no rule to direct them, the physitians of Glasgow, members of the Faculty, agree to give advice and attendance to all poor people, *gratis*. When called to people in good circumstances in town or country, they expect to being feed at being called or consulted; and in acute cases where attendance is once a day or oftener, they expect to being feed every eight or ten days; and in chronical cases, where attendance is not so frequent, once in two or three weeks. Agreed to by John Gordon, John Wodrow, Alex. Stevenson, John Johnston, Robert Dick, David Paton." The Glasgow physician of those days, be it remembered, not only acted as

a consultant with the general practitioner, and saw patients at his own house or consulting room, but he also visited patients at their own homes on his own behoof in medical cases.[1] The following advertisement was first inserted in the local newspapers in 1785, and it appeared at intervals till near the end of the century:—

"The physicians and surgeons of Glasgow have long experienced much inconveniency and loss of payment of their charges and accounts, in some measure from their own inattention. To remedy this as far as depends upon themselves the surgeons have come to the unanimous resolution to give in their accounts once a year; and the physicians expect, when there is no other agreement for attendance through the year, to be paid for their trouble and advice upon their visits becoming no longer necessary. It will likewise be obliging the gentlemen of the Faculty if, on account of the extent of the town, those patients who desire to be visited before dinner would send their messages to them before ten o'clock in the morning, and if in the evening, before three o'clock in the afternoon."

In several parts of the Records of the eighteenth century there are allusions to a "Book of Fees," but not till the end of the century, when the tariff of charges was subjected to revision, do we ascertain what the rate of fees at that period was. The consulting fee of the physician was a guinea. Midwifery fees varied from one to three guineas. For the different surgical operations there was much discriminative nicety in the tariff, from phlebotomy at five shillings up to the higher operations at five guineas. For surgeons' visits the rate was one to three shillings in the town during the day, and five shillings to one guinea during the night. The mileage rate of charges for the country was conformable to the scale we have indicated. But in this revised book of fees of 1794, there is found one curious anachronism, which would surely have been more appropriate in a tariff of a century earlier:—

Preparing and applying cerecloth to the corpse of an adult,	-	£10 10	0[2]
" " " of a child,	-	5 5	0

[1] It is curious, by the way, to find as one of the signatories of this Minute Dr. Robert Dick, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University, as it would appear to imply that he was a practising physician.

[2] From time immemorial the supplying of the "Cerecloth" had, in Scotland, been the duty of the surgeon, or general practitioner. The preparation of the cerecloth was one of the mysteries into which apprentices were initiated. The practice of using them was a kind of modified embalming; and the price charged placed them beyond the reach of all but the families of the well-to-do. The price had nearly doubled since the beginning of the century, if we may judge from an account of Dr. Campbell, of Paisley, given in the Second Series of Hector's *Judicial Records of Renfrewshire* (p. 58). The price which he charges to the Walkinshaw family for "ane large cerecloth in 1720 was £66 13s. 4d." Scots, (about £5 11s.

Of other memorabilia of the century we have only space to mention the removal of the Faculty from their hall in Trongate, which they had occupied since 1697, to a more commodious building which they erected in St. Enoch Square. This took place in 1791. The old hall was sold; but it was fortunate for the corporate purse that some other property belonging to them adjoining the Trongate premises at that period proved unsaleable. Three-quarters of a century later, it had increased in value tenfold, and through it the Faculty were partly recouped for the very large grants which, as will afterwards be mentioned, they made to a Widows' Fund they originated immediately on entering the St. Enoch's Square hall. This hall, of which a sketch is given on the other side, was situated on the east side of the square, and was taken down at the time of the erection of St. Enoch's Station. In 1791 a minority of the Faculty were of opinion that the site of the new premises in St. Enoch's Square was too far west; but so rapid was the subsequent growth of the city in that direction that

stg.). In the First Series of the same *Records* (p. 102) there is given a copy of a summons by Andrew How, surgeon in Kilbarchan, a member of the Faculty, against half a dozen of his patients, which may be quoted in this place as an illustration of the very moderate fees of a country surgeon in Scotland in the first half of the eighteenth century. The date is 1721.

"I, Andrew How of Pannell, asks and claims of ye persons underwrên the debts and soumes of money following owing by you to me in maner and for ye causes afterspresd, viz.:

"1. James Gibb, in Barlogan, three pounds Scots, pairtly for ane cordial to his daughter, and pairtly for my paines in going to his house with it to see his daughter, being two miles of way distant from my house.

"2. John Williams, in Bruntlabor, Six pounds Scots, as being for svall tymes letting blood of his wyfe, and givving physick to her, and my paines in going thro' svall tymes to his house, being four myles distant from myne.

"3. William Naismith, in Logiehole, a Guinzie, as being a moderate and rasonable satisfaction for my paines and expenses in making up plaisters and oŷr medicaments to, and performing a cure upon, his nose, when the same was almost cut off by James Bartholomew, as was alledged, deducting two shills sterg pd.

"4. John Aiken, in Corsehills, three pounds Scots, as being pairtly for my paynes and pairtly for my expenses in furnishing and making up two bottles of syrop to his daughter by his ordours.

"5. James Mather, at Bishopton, Six pound, which was dew to me by George Grant, late Cook to Craigends, and for which the sd James Mather became debtor and promised me payment.

"6. John Lang, in Hilltown, Eleven pounds, Scots, as being for my paines in going svll tymes to his house, and using of drugs and svll medicaments to him when he was under a consumptione, and whereof I cured him.

"All which cures were performed and oŷr advising used to the sevll persons specifit within these seven or eight years yrby, and all of you promised me satisfactione, and yrfor should be decernit."

in less than twenty years there was an agitation to remove considerably further to the west. The next exodus, however, did not take place till 1860, when they acquired their present premises in St. Vincent Street.

Several interesting movements which the Faculty either originated, or in which they took a prominent part during the century, will be more conveniently noticed in other than their chronological connection. In this way the origin of the Widows' Fund and of the Library, and the part which the Faculty took in the origination of such institutions as the Royal Infirmary and the Humane Society, will be adverted to in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER XIII

GLASGOW MEDICAL MEN OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES[1]

IN the rapid sketch contained in the preceding chapters of the origin and progress of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow, little note has been taken of the men who carried on the work of the Corporation during the first two centuries of its existence. When there has been occasion to mention names of members it has been in their connection with the corporation, and hence they have appeared only in their official garb. As complementary to this sketch it may be of some interest to glance at some of the men, whether in connection with or apart from their relation to the Faculty, as has already been done in the case of Dr. Peter Lowe, the founder. The limits of our space preclude anything but a hasty glance over the two centuries, omitting all reference to the founders of the Glasgow Medical School, the origin and early progress of which will form the subject of succeeding chapters.

In regard to the seventeenth century, it must be admitted at the outset that the outstanding names are few, and that in regard to most of these their reputation was only local. For a century after the death of Dr. Peter Lowe Glasgow produced no name in medicine or surgery worthy to rank with that of the founder. The intellectual barrenness of Scotland generally during the seventeenth century has often been made the subject of remark. The chief causes of this mental sterility are indeed not far to seek. The whole country was ablaze with religious and theological zeal. In the fierce heat of ecclesiastical polemics, and the political convulsions which added fuel to the flame, the seeds of literature and science were scorched and withered. Add to this general consideration the special plea

[1] This chapter was written before the idea of publishing a Roll of Members in the Appendix, with a few biographical notes, had suggested itself. It might, therefore, have been omitted; but its retention may possibly be justified by the fact of its presenting in a sketchy form some facts not given under the "Roll."

as regards Glasgow, that during the whole of the century it was, as already pointed out, a town of no great size or importance. It therefore presented no great attractions to ambitious professional men. In several instances, indeed, medical practitioners had to be tempted to settle or to remain in Glasgow, or to return to the burgh after having left it, by the offer of a salary or "pension," or a free burgess ticket; and even such inducements were not always sufficient to make the invitation effective.

After the death of Dr. Peter Lowe in or shortly after 1612, the leading medical man in Glasgow must have been Dr. Robert Hamilton, who had been associated with the former in the charter. Though a physician he seems to have represented the Faculty in the Trades' House, but nothing noteworthy has been preserved of him. Before his death, which was not before 1628, his son, James Hamilton, had been admitted apparently *both* as a surgeon and a physician; and he practised to at least the middle of the century. In Dr. Robert Mayne we obtain for the first time a link between the University in High Street and the Faculty. He appears, judging at all events from his epitaph, to have been a man of learning and varied accomplishments. At first he filled the position of Regens Paedagogii, or Arts Master, teaching the third class in the College. From that post he was, in 1637, transferred to the Chair of Medicine. Whether this office, the creation of which involved the first recognition of any department of medicine by the University, was called into existence to accommodate an incumbent at hand to fill it, or for some better reason, there is no evidence to show. The sequel at all events proves that the experiment was premature. There can have been no clamant need for it at the time in view of the universal system of crafts' apprenticeship in vogue for surgery, and the small demand for physicians. Besides, judged by modern notions, the chair could not long survive unsupported by a professorship of Anatomy. Dr. Mayne's commission as a professor bore that he was "to teache ane publict lecture of Medicine in the said Colledge, once or twyse ewerie weik except in the ordiner tyme of vacance," and the remuneration was fixed at 400 merks yearly. In those days, however, the University was largely under the domination of the Kirk, which had power to raise up and cast down. In 1642 the General Assembly, which met at St. Andrews, saw fit to appoint a "Visitation" or Commission of twenty-three members for Glasgow University, consisting of about an equal number of ministers and ruling elders, amongst the latter being persons of title and position. The powers with which the 'Visitation' were invested were sufficiently ample and inquisitorial. They could not only inquire as to the character of the teaching, its efficiency, and its conformity to the Confession of Faith and Acts of the Kirk, but could remove superfluous or incompetent teachers. A professor of medicine this Ecclesiastical Commission decided to be superfluous.[1] They reported, "Anent the Professione of Medicine the Visitatione

[1] *Munimenta*, III. 380.

finds that Profession is not necessar for the Colledge in all tyme comming, and withal finds it just that Mr. Robert Mayne, who is already in that Professione, continue in the same during his time," which was not destined to be long, for he died prematurely in 1646, aged forty-two, whilst the plague which had entered the city some time before was still decimating the townsmen, though there is no evidence that he was its victim. The only physician now left in the town appears to have been Mr. James Hamilton, mentioned formerly; and the Town Council ineffectually tried to induce a "Dr. Rae" to come to Glasgow, though they succeeded in the case of a Dr. M'Cluir who was not a member of the Faculty, and about whom nothing is known except that he was paid for services rendered during the great attack of plague in 1647-49.[1]

A few years later Dr. Sylvester Rattray settled in the place, and there wrote his two books[2] in Latin, the one on *Sympathy and Antipathy* and the other on *Medical Prognosis*, being the only Glasgow works on medicine published during the century. Dr. Rattray, as will appear in a later chapter, became known on the continent in virtue of the former of these works; but we have no record to show whether he reduced to practice on his Glasgow patients, one of whom was the son of Principal Baillie, the preposterous theory of medicine which he expounds in that treatise. Of three other physicians who flourished in Glasgow in that century, Dr. John Crichton, Dr. John Colquhoun, and Dr. Thomas Hamilton, nothing noteworthy has been preserved, apart from their relation to the Faculty,[3] and they left no literary remains. In the latter half of the century the name of Dr. Matthew Brisbane stands out prominently as a Glasgow physician of note. He belonged to an ecclesiastical family, both his father and grandfather having been parsons of the parish of Erskine. He received his classical education at the College of Glasgow, and graduated in medicine at the University of Utrecht in 1661; and a few years later we find him settled in practice in Glasgow as a physician. That he was a man of influence and standing is evident from his honourable connection with his *Alma Mater*. In two successive years (1675-76) he filled the office of Dean of Faculty, and on several occasions (1677-81) he was elected to the office of Rector, being apparently the only medical man in that century who attained the distinction. But neither his learning nor his science had the effect of wholly emancipating him from the superstition of his age. So late as 1696 we find him cherishing a kind of sneaking faith in witchcraft, or, at all events, admitting that he was unable to account on natural principles for the phenomena presented in the case on which he was consulted. It occurred in his native parish of Erskine. The subject or victim of the supposed malignant influence was a girl named Christian Shaw, daughter of the laird of Bargarran. A perusal of the evidence in this

[1] P. 12. [2] See Chap. XXI. [3] P. 62, *et seq.*

melancholy case would probably suggest to a physician of the present day that it was one of those, common enough at all periods, in which self-deceit, and conscious imposture, all dominated by a strong belief in the black art, contributed in various degrees to the tragical result. The report of Dr. Brisbane is a very learned document, showing much painstaking, and evidencing clearly the struggle in his mind between science and superstition. "He was confident she had no visible correspondent to subminister hair, straw, coal, cinders, and such like trash to her; all which upon severall occasions he saw her put out of her mouth without being wet; nay, rather, as they had been dried with artifice, and actually hot above the natural warmth of the body." This excretion of "trash" was too much for the learned reporter's science, and he concluded by admitting that were it not for this "he would not despair to reduce the other symptoms to their proper classes in the catalogue of human diseases." For the alleged crime of bewitching this wretched girl four persons were burned at Paisley, whilst a fifth only escaped the same fate by suicide in Paisley prison.

The Glasgow surgeons of the seventeenth century, after Dr. Lowe, need not detain us long. Probably the most notable family of surgeons was that of the Halls, of whom there were four generations, the last of them living on to the next century. They were all apparently men of good standing; the third of them was a member of the Town Council and a bailie, and it would appear from the Records of the Council somewhat aggressive and turbulent. The burgh accounts also show that at the visitation of the great plague of 1646-49 he was paid for "sichting and visiteing suche as deceasit of the pestilence"—a suggestive entry as regards the mortality of the scourge at that period. It is somewhat curious to find that one of the best known surgeons in Glasgow in the latter half of the seventeenth century was an Englishman. James Frank was admitted a member of the Faculty in 1650, the Records containing no information where he had been apprenticed. M'Ure, the historian of Glasgow, says that he was the son of a Leicestershire squire. After eight years' residence in Glasgow he appears to have left the town and gone to Ireland, but was tempted back by the offer of a pension from the Town Council. He had a son a surgeon in the town, and his daughter became the mother of Dr. David Patoun, a Glasgow physician, whom we will have occasion to mention shortly. Several surgeons of the century, as has been stated, are invariably distinguished as "Mr.," implying that they were possessors of Arts degrees, of whom Mr. Charles Mouat and Mr. David Sharp were the most noteworthy. Towards the end of the century the two most prominent surgeons in Glasgow were Mr. Henry Marshall and Mr. Robert Houston, younger. The former was the son of a medical practitioner in Kilsyth, from whom he had probably learned his craft. It has already been narrated[1] how the attempt of the Town

[1] Chap. IX.

Council to accredit him as a surgeon in Glasgow in the face of the opposition of the Faculty led to a long law-suit with the Town Council, in which the former were successful. On his admission to the Faculty he took a leading position; and his somewhat despotic conduct while visitor, and especially his apparently contemptuous attitude to the Council and Trades' House during the progress of the disputes between the surgeons and barbers,[1] mark him as a man of some vigour of character. Like Dr. Matthew Brisbane he was consulted in the Bargarran witchcraft case, and his report is even less guarded than that of the physician in its implication of supernatural influences. He instances, with details, several of the girl's conversations with invisible interlocutors. From another of the documents we find that the medical report was wanted by the Presbytery in order to facilitate the obtaining a commission of judges to try the case. Henry Marshall had a good social standing in the West of Scotland, being connected by marriage with the Earl of Wigton's family.

Contemporary with Mr. Marshall was Mr. Robert Houston, who is honourably associated with the operation of ovariotomy, being indeed the first surgeon who performed it. He was the son of a surgeon member of the Faculty of the same name, had been apprenticed to his father, and was a graduate in Arts of the University. The operation by which his name has been perpetuated was performed in 1701, being more than a century before Dr. Ephraim M'Dowell of Kentucky, who is generally credited with being the earliest ovariotomist, performed his first operation. As probably only a few specialists who have looked into the history of their specialty, and others interested in medical archaeology, are acquainted with Houston's interesting narrative, his description of the operation is here reproduced from the thirty-third volume of the *Philosophical Transactions*, London, 1733, in which the case was recorded thirty-two years after it occurred:

"AUGUST 1701 I was in the Country, with a Patient, the Lady Anne Houstoun, Wife to Sir John Houstoun, Baronet; in the Shire of *Renfrew*, ten miles from *Glasgow*, *North Britain*. This charitable lady pressed me with great Earnestness to visit a Tenant's Wife, who lay bedridden, of an uncommon Disease, which no Physician, or Surgeon, who had seen her, could give any Name to, or account for. She inform'd me, the ablest of that Country had forsaken her, and declared her incurable, so that I could lose no Reputation by the Result of my Endeavours.

"In order to oblige this worthy lady, and in Compassion to the Distress of a poor Woman in so deplorable Condition, deserted and given over on all sides, I went, determined to do everything in my Power for her Relief. She was in the 58th Year of her Age, her name was *Margaret Millar*.

"She informed me that her Midwife, in her last lying-in at 45 Years old, having violently pull'd away the Burthen, she was so very sensibly affected by a Pain, which then seiz'd her in the left Side, between the *Umbilicus* and Groin, that she scarce

[1] Chap. x.

ever had been free from it after, but that it had troubled her more, or less, during 13 Years together; that for two Years past she had been extremely uneasy, her Belly grew very large, and a Difficulty of breathing increased continually upon her: insomuch that for the last six Months, she had scarce breath'd at all but with the utmost Difficulty. That in all that Space of Time, having quite lost her Appetite, she had scarce eat so much as would nourish a sucking Child; and that for three Months together she had now been forc'd to lie constantly on her Back, not daring to move at all, to one side or other.

"This Tumour was grown to so monstrous a Bulk, that it engross'd the whole left Side, from the *Umbilicus* to the *Pubes*, and stretch'd the Abdominal Muscles, to so unequal a Degree, that I don't remember ever to have seen the like in the whole Course of my Practice. It drew towards a Point. Her being so long confined to lie continually on her Back, having grievously excoriated her, added much to her Sufferings, which, with want of Rest and Appetite, had wasted her to Skin and Bone, as the poor Woman herself expressed it. Indeed she needed not to have told me so, my Eyes were too faithful Witnesses of her low and wretched Condition.

"Scarce able to speak out, she told me, that having heard much of my Success, she had strong Hopes of Relief provided I would try at least, and do something in pity to her Affliction.

"I answer'd her that I was willing, but afraid, in her low State, she would not have Strength to undergo a large incision; that in order effectually to relieve her, I must be oblig'd to lay open a great Part of her Belly, and remove the Cause of all that Swelling: she seem'd not frightened, but heard me without Disorder, and, as if inspir'd with sudden Courage, press'd, and urg'd me to the Operation.

"I drew (I must confess) almost all my Confidence from her unexpected Resolution, so that without loss of Time, I prepared what the Place would allow, and with an Imposthume Lancet, laid open about an Inch, but finding nothing issue, I enlarged it to two Inches and even then nothing came forth but a little thin yellowish *Serum*, so I ventured to lay it open about two Inches more. I was not a little startled, after so large an Aperture, to find only a glutinous Substance bung up the Orifice. All my Difficulty was to remove it; I try'd my Probe, I endeavour'd with my Fingers, but all was in vain; it was so slippery that it eluded every Touch, and the strongest hold I could take.

"I wanted, in this place, almost everything necessary, but bethought myself of a very odd Instrument, yet as good as the best in its Consequence, because it answer'd the end propos'd. I took a strong Firr-Splinter, such as the Poor in that Country ordinarily use to burn instead of Candles; I wrapt about the End of this Splinter some loose Lint, and thrust it into the Wound, and by turning and winding it, I drew out some two Yards in Length, of a Substance thicker than any Gellie, or rather like Glue that's fresh made and hung out to dry; the Breadth of it was above ten Inches; this was followed by nine full Quarts of such Matter, as I have met with in Steatomatous and Atheromatous Tumours, with several *Hydatides* of various Sizes, containing a yellowish *Serum*, the least of 'em bigger than an Orange, with several large Pieces of Membranes, which seem'd to be parts of the distended Ovary. Then

I squeez'd out all I could, and stitch'd up the Wound in three Places, almost equidistant; I was oblig'd to make use of *Lucatellus's* Balsam, which was made by her Lady for the Use of the Poor; with this Balsam I cover'd a Pledget, the whole Length of the Wound, and over that laid several Compresses, dipp'd in warm *French* Brandy, and because that I judg'd that the parts might have lost their Spring by so vast and so long a Distention, I dipt in the same Brandy a large Napkin four times folded, and applied it over all the Dressings, and with a couple of strong Towels, which were also dipt, I swathed her round the Body, and then gave her about four Ounces of the following Mixture which I had from her Lady.

℞. *Aq. Menthæ*, ℔ss. *Aq. Cinnamomi fort.*, ℔iss.
Syr. Diacodii, ʒvi. ℳ.

"The Cinnamon Water was drawn off from Canary and the best Cinnamon; indeed it was the finest and most fragrant Cinnamon-Water I ever tasted; of this Mixture I ordered her 2 or 3 Spoonfuls 4 times a Day.

"Next morning I found her in a breathing Sweat, and she informed me, with great Tokens of Joy, that she had not slept so much, nor found herself so well refresh'd, at any Time for three Months past. I carefully attended her once every Day, and as constantly dressed her Wound in the same Manner as above, for about eight Days Together; I kept in the lower Part of the Wound a small Tent, which discharged some Serosities at every Dressing for 4 or 5 Days. But Business calling me elsewhere, I left her, having first instructed her two Daughters (both Women, who carefully attended her) how to dress her Wound, and told 'em what Diet I thought most proper, enjoining 'em strictly to observe what I order'd.

"Her chief Food was strong Broth made of an old Cock, in each Porringer of which was one Spoonful of the Lady's Cinnamon Water; this was repeated 4 times a day, and gave her new Life and Spirits.

"After three Weeks Absence, I called at her House, and finding it shut up, was a little surpriz'd, but had not gone far before I was much more surpriz'd, when I found her sitting wrapt up in Blankets, giving Directions to some Labourers who were cutting down her Corn.

"She amended apace to the Admiration of everybody thereabouts, recovered surprisingly, and lived in perfect Health from that time, which was in August 1701 till October 1714, when she died in ten Days sickness."

Some pathological observations follow, and the paper finishes with a Bibliography of Ovarian Tumours.

Houston's case of ovariotomy is notable, not only as being the first recorded, but for being performed in the absence of proper instruments, and under apparently ludicrously unfavourable conditions; yet with a success which could not have been surpassed by a Keith or a Spencer Wells, with all modern appliances and means, aseptic and antiseptic to boot.

The success of Houston as a surgeon in Glasgow and neighbourhood in the beginning of the eighteenth century was so great that in 1711 he took

a step which may be interpreted as showing an intention to retire from general practice, and betake himself to the then more dignified practice of a physician. In that year he applied to the University to be examined for a medical degree. At the time there was no Medical Faculty, or even a single professor, no attempt having been made to resuscitate the Chair of Medicine, which had fallen into abeyance in 1646 on the death of Dr. Mayne. A Board of Examiners had accordingly to be improvised for the occasion, consisting of Dr. Sinclare, the Professor of Mathematics, who happened to be an M.D., and Drs. Montgomery and Johnstoun, two physicians practising in the city, with lay senatorial assessors. So far as can be gathered from the *Munimenta*, Houston appears to have been the third medical graduate of the University, and the second admitted by examination. How long he practised in Glasgow after receiving his degree does not appear. On his removal to London, he seems to have practised in Westminster or its neighbourhood; and it may be inferred from another paper he published in the *Philosophical Transactions* on a case of ectopic pregnancy, and from some little treatises published by him on surgical subjects, that he reverted to the practice of a general practitioner.

Before casting a glance over the medical practitioners of Glasgow during the eighteenth century, a word may be said regarding a remarkable family of old standing in the country. The Hows of Damton and Pennold,[1] in the parish of Kilbarchan, were entitled to the distinction of being emphatically a medical family. Not only did they practise in their native place, but some of them appear besides to have betaken themselves for the purpose to other localities, and one became a London physician. Occupying a county position as landowners, the young Hows, or at all events certain members in successive generations, appear to have been trained to look to medicine as their inheritance as much as, or even more than, to their paternal acres. It is doubtful whether a longer medical pedigree existed anywhere in Scotland than that of the John How, surgeon, of Damton, who died in 1816. Semple, who edited the work of Crawfurd, the historian of Renfrewshire, writing in 1782, when this How was in active practice, states that he was the twelfth John in direct descent, and the eighth that had been a practitioner of medicine. This John had a son, also a surgeon, who predeceased his father; and a daughter, who became the wife of Mr. William Couper, a Glasgow surgeon. The first of the family in the Faculty Roll was admitted in 1654, but there were certainly others of the name practising as mediciners earlier than this date. Though practising well within the limits of the Faculty's jurisdiction, the Hows were not always willing candidates for the privilege of admission as country members, and some of them were apparently

[1] Damton lies immediately west of the little town of Kilbarchan; and with the lands of Law, Pennold, Wester Whitelands, and Over Johnstone, in Kilbarchan parish, and Syde, in the parish of Kilmalcolm, were long in the possession of the How family.

passed over altogether. In 1651 the John How of that day was brought up before the Faculty under the process known as "horning." His medical requirements were evidently scarcely commensurate with the length of his pedigree. On submitting himself to examination, and, according to custom, giving a list of the points he "professed," it was limited to "simple woundis, phlebotomie, dislocationes, fracters, and sic oyr parts of chirurgie as he suld be fund qualifit; and also to be authorisit be them to give purgatives by senna, rubarb, and sic lyk." After examination, the limits of his qualification were found to be even narrower than his own modest estimate of them; he was licensed to "cuir simple woundis, and to practise phlebotomie be the advys of physitians, fracters where there is no complicatioun, but no oyr part of chirurgie;" the unobtrusive request regarding purgatives being apparently tacitly ignored.

With the dawn of the eighteenth century there arose in Scotland a freer spirit of inquiry, bringing with it the promise of progress in the healing art and brighter days for its practitioners. In the early years there was still much stagnation and lethargy, and it was not till towards the middle of the century that the profession in Glasgow became fully alive to the warm breath of this new spirit. Leaving to the succeeding chapter a brief sketch of the results of this intellectual awakening, as shown in the foundation of a Medical School, we have here space for the mention of only a few outstanding names of men not directly connected with that movement. Two physicians, father and son, belonging to an old Glasgow family, had names long familiar in the city, and they lived to such an age as between them almost to span a considerable part of a century. These were Dr. Peter Patoun and Dr. David Patoun—the former the grandson of Mr. James Frank, a Glasgow surgeon in the seventeenth century, already referred to; and the latter the father of Archibald, the "Captain Patoun" familiar to old Glaswegians by his oft-recorded old-fashioned oddities, and as the hero of Lockhart's "Lament." Another Glasgow physician of good position was Dr. John Wodrow, brother of the gossiping author of the *Analecta* and historian of the Kirk, whose father was Professor of Divinity in the University. He was especially devoted to medical botany, a pursuit which was as common among medical men of the last century as it is rare among those of the present day. In this department Wodrow appears, however, to have been *facile princeps*, and for a number of years he received an annual grant from the Faculty to enable him to cultivate his physic garden. He also collected a Natural History Museum; but what became of it does not appear, though the Faculty purchased the human anatomical specimens. As an example of a man of a good family who practised surgery, may be mentioned Alexander Porterfield, a scion of the house of Porterfield of that ilk, who was admitted as freeman in the last decade of the seventeenth century, and in 1733 was the senior surgical member of the Faculty. Mr. William Stirling,

whose admission to the Faculty in 1712 was the occasion of setting surgeons and barbers by the ears, was a surgeon of repute during the first half of the century. Even more than to his professional skill, his fellow citizens were probably indebted to his public spirit and enterprise. In association with his partner, Dr. John Gordon, and of two other citizens named Loudon, he introduced into Glasgow the manufacture of linen; whilst his son Walter gave the citizens further cause of gratitude by a public benefaction which he bequeathed in the shape of the library that has perpetuated the name.

Not less favourably known as surgeon and general practitioner was Mr. John Paisley, a man of varied erudition, who collected what appears to have been a good medical library. When his old apprentice and friend, Dr. William Cullen, began to show his mettle by giving public lectures on medicine, chemistry, materia medica, and botany, the library of Mr. Paisley was generously thrown open to his students. The only literary remains of Paisley are some papers in the *Edinburgh Medical Essays*. Both before and after the middle of the century, John Gordon, the partner of Mr. William Stirling, held a good professional and social position. His career as a practitioner well illustrates the unwritten rules affecting medical practice in his day. After practising more than thirty years as a surgeon and general practitioner, he resolved to limit himself to medical practice only. For this purpose he qualified himself in 1754 by taking the Doctorate of Medicine of the University of Glasgow. This involved the necessity of his entry as a surgeon-freeman of the Faculty being cancelled, and his formal admission as a physician. In the year following he was elected praeses, an office to which as a surgeon he would have been ineligible. This little episode bears testimony to the punctilious recognition by the profession in these days of the dividing line between the physician and the general practitioner. For the work of the latter the degree was not only not required, but was, though not an absolute disqualification, certainly a drawback. Its possession raised the presumption that the graduate practised as a pure physician; and if this presumption were negatived by the known facts, he was promptly inhibited from practice till he had qualified as a surgeon member. This actually happened in the case of Dr. Andrew Morris, a Rheims graduate, who contested the point at law; but ultimately yielded, and having been apprenticed to his father, a member of Faculty, he was examined and admitted as a surgeon.[1] Accordingly the doctorate was an honour to which very few, and scarcely any young practitioner, could afford to aspire. It was not till some time after the commencement of the present century, when, as the sequel will show, the supply of University graduates had increased at a rate out of all proportion to the demand for "pure"

[1] Dr. Morris does not appear to have made his mark in practice in Glasgow, and was chiefly remembered for his eccentric character and his physical infirmity, being for many years paralyzed in his lower limbs.

physicians that doctors of medicine in Glasgow betook themselves to general practice.

To return, however, to Dr. John Gordon. No better tribute to his worth could be given than the eulogistic words which his old apprentice, Tobias Smollett, puts into the mouth of Mr. Bramble: "I was introduced to Mr. Gordon, a patriot of a truly noble spirit, who is father of the linen manufactory of that place, and was the great promoter of the city work-house, infirmary, and other works of public utility. Had he lived in ancient Rome, he would have been honoured with a statue at the public expense." Of this apprentice we have nothing to add to what is already known. The fact of his apprenticeship to "Mr. W. Stirling and John Gordon" was duly "booked" in the Faculty Records of 30th May, 1736. "The which Day Tobias Smollett, son of the deceased Mr. Archd. Smollett in Dumbarton, is booked apprentice with Mr. William Stirling and John Gordon, freeman, for five years from the date of the Indenture produced, dated the Sixteenth and Nineteenth days of Aprill last, and he payed the Collector ten shillings ster. of Booking money with the Clerk and Officer their dues." According to all accounts he was a wild and restless youth, and must occasionally have sorely tried the patience of his masters. His youthful pranks have been noticed by his biographers, and need not be here repeated. The mercurial surgeon's apprentice appears to have been popular in the section of Glasgow society he affected, though he had a habit of indulging in lampoons and squibs, which cannot always have been pleasant to his acquaintances. On completing his apprenticeship, he left Glasgow without becoming a free-man of the Faculty, as he had no intention of practising in the West of Scotland. His subsequent career is well known, and does not belong to our subject. He was the friend of Dr. William Smellie, the obstetrician, a member of the Faculty; and Dr. John Glaister, in his biography of the latter,[1] has proved that the work on *Midwifery* by Smellie underwent Smollett's literary revision before publication.

Tobias Smollett was essentially, as regards his lifework, a man of letters; and though he practised a little at one time, and wrote an essay on the "Medicinal Use of Tar Water," it may be said that he was connected with the medical profession by little more than the accident of his training. It was otherwise with Dr. John Moore, another literary apprentice of Messrs. Stirling and Gordon. In the case of the author of *Zeluco*, it was rather the literary character which was the accident. For many years of his life his professional work, first as a general practitioner in Glasgow, and for two years as a physician there, and some years subsequently as a practitioner in London, absorbed the larger share of his energies. The son of a Stirling clergyman, Moore received his education at the University of Glasgow, and was apprenticed to the two surgeons named on 3rd December,

[1] *Dr. William Smellie and his Contemporaries.* Glasgow, 1894.

1744. On the completion of his pupilage, he served for some years as a surgeon in the army, and subsequently carefully prepared himself by two years' study and observation in Paris and London. Thus equipped, he returned to Glasgow in 1751 on the invitation of his old master, John Gordon, who made him his partner. On Gordon, a year or two later, taking his degree, and establishing himself as a physician, Mr. Moore assumed as a partner Mr. Thomas Hamilton, the brother and afterwards the successor of the Professor of Anatomy in the University. In 1770, when about forty years of age, he followed the example of his former master and partner, John Gordon, and took his degree at the University, "having declined it sooner," says his biographer, "as imposing a limit to the range of his extensive practice." A wit and humorist, and something also of a *bon vivant*, Moore was wont to relieve the dulness of the life of a hard-working surgeon in the modes of social relaxation universal in Glasgow in the middle and latter part of last century. The soul of the Hodge Podge Club and kindred gatherings, the favourite of Glasgow society, Moore never forgot, even in moments of social *abandon*, what was due to his professional position. His wit and raillery were seldom or never ill-natured; and if his satirical sketches of his fellow-clubmen want something of the point and more of the polish of Goldsmith in *Retaliation*, they were at least informed with the same kindly spirit of friendly appreciation and humour. In 1772 he accepted an offer to go to the continent as travelling companion and medical attendant to the Duke of Hamilton. It is from this epoch that his literary career began. On returning from abroad he did not resume practice in Glasgow, but settled to work in London. His only medical work, *Medical Sketches*, was published in 1785, though in his *View of Society and Manners in Italy* there is included an essay on "Pulmonary Consumption." Moore lived to see the present century, his death occurring in 1802, seven years before that of his heroic son, Sir John Moore, the hero of Corunna.

Mr. Andrew Craig, a Glasgow surgeon in the second half of the eighteenth century, has had the fate—probably about the last he himself would have coveted—to have his name perpetuated, not in virtue of his own modest worth, but as the father of a daughter who figures somewhat questionably as one of the many "flames" of Robert Burns, the Scottish poet. Agnes Craig was the "Clarinda" of the bard; and her name frequently occurs in the Records of the Faculty. She was married early to a Glasgow lawyer of the name of James Maclehose; but the union was unhappy. Her husband left her and went to the West Indies, whence he eventually returned with a fortune. The abandoned wife went back to her father's house, and remained there with her children till his death in 1782. On this happening she applied to the Faculty to be placed on their list of pensioners. This was done, and her name figures in the accounts as receiving £8 yearly up to 1787-88, the year, by the way,

in which she met Burns. The pension was then discontinued, the reason stated being that she had a stronger claim on the Faculty of Procurators, of which her husband had been a member, and also that she had a private income of her own. Though an application was made for the renewal of the pension, it was not granted. By this time she had removed to Edinburgh, where she met the poet. Another Glasgow surgeon, whose professional career spanned the latter half of the last and a dozen years of the present century, was Robert Wallace. His father, of the same name, had been admitted in the second decade of the century, so thus their united professional lives all but cover a hundred years. Dr. William Thomson, in his *Life of Cullen*, gives an interesting letter from the second Wallace, dated 1812, giving his reminiscences of the origin of the Glasgow Medical School, to which we will advert in the next chapter.

To mention other surgeons whose names, now forgotten, were once familiar in the mouths of old Glasgow burghers, is forbidden by the limits of our space. For these the reader is referred to the Roll of Members in the Appendix. To recall the chief physicians after 1750 is a lighter task. Not only were they fewer in number than the surgeons, but the most prominent of them were in some way connected with the nascent Medical School, and will accordingly fall to be noticed in connection therewith. It is somewhat curious to find amongst the physician members of the Faculty the name of Dr. Robert Dick, professor of Natural Philosophy in the University. Whether or not he was engaged in practice there is no evidence on which to decide; but his name, as we have stated, appears at the bottom of a manifesto of the physicians with reference to their fees. Dr. Colin Douglas had been in the army before settling to practise in Glasgow, and appears to have been cut off prematurely, only "the dregs of his vigour," as Dr. John Moore puts it, being left to him in his Glasgow practice. That he was a man of a straightforward amiable character, may be inferred not only from Moore's stanza[1] but also from the appreciative epitaph of Mr. John Dunlop, the elegiac poet of the Hodge Podge Club.[2] Dr. Peter Wright, who became first President of the Andersonian University, a familiar figure in old Glasgow, belongs partly to the last and partly to the present century, having lived to 1819. The circumstance mentioned by a historian of the city that, attired in cocked hat and bedecked with a sword, he attended the accouchement of the Duchess of Montrose, in the Drygate, at the end of the century, shows that by that time not only surgeons but doctors of medicine in Glasgow had betaken themselves to the practice of obstetrics. He lived indeed to see the day when, as will appear from the sequel, they were forced by necessity to practice all departments of medicine and surgery. A contemporary of Dr. Wright in

[1] Strang's *Glasgow Clubs*, 2nd edition, 43. [2] *Ib.*, 46.

Glasgow, Dr. Robert Marshall, a man of scholarly attainments, also lived into the present century.

One peculiarity in regard to the practice of the surgeons in Glasgow during the eighteenth century may be here adverted to. This was the custom of surgical partnerships, which was then very common. The firms of Cullen and Hamilton, of Stirling and Gordon, Gordon and Moore, Moore and Hamilton, Hamilton and Towers, Maxwell and Parlane, Hill and Monteith, Monteith and Couper, and others, could be cited as showing the prevalence of the practice. In the present day such partnerships are, if not all but unknown, very uncommon in Glasgow and, indeed, in Scotland generally, unless perhaps occasionally in the case of near relatives. In England, on the other hand, judging from the advertisements, medical partnerships are still in vogue. The change in Scotland must have some foundation in national trend and tendencies. There must be some factor at work now which was less operative in the last century. In Glasgow, during that century, as in England now, the *office* of the medical man counted for much. Now-a-days Scots are critical of the personal qualities of the man who fills it. Whatever may be the true explanation, it must be sufficient to cover a whole group of co-related facts. The rarity of medical partnerships, the comparative infrequency of medical assistantships, the difficulty till recent years in obtaining any great money equivalent for a practice in Scotland, are all doubtless due to the same cause.

Of two country practitioners we have only space to say a word. Dr. John Campbell, of Paisley, made a reputation for himself in the first half of the century, not only in that town, but over a wide area of surrounding district. Wodrow[1] even mentions that a scheme was talked of in the University of Glasgow of having him made professor of anatomy. Dr. William Smellie, of Lanark, was a freeman of the Faculty, admitted apparently in 1732 or 1733, though he had begun practice in his native town in 1720. The fact, that for about a dozen years he had practised within the Faculty's jurisdiction without licence, would appear to show that the pressure put on country practitioners was not severe. In 1739 he removed to London; but his Faculty quarter-accounts were paid through his friend Dr. John Gordon, to whom he acknowledged his professional obligations in his well-known treatise on *Midwifery*. As the most notable part of his career was spent in the metropolis, it lies beyond the scope of this sketch; and it is the less necessary to dwell upon it, as an admirable Memoir of him has lately come from the pen of Dr. John Glaister.[2]

[1] *Analecta*, Vol. IV., 28.

[2] *Dr. William Smellie and his Contemporaries.* Glasgow, 1894.

CHAPTER XIV

THE RISE OF THE GLASGOW MEDICAL SCHOOL

To the present generation it may at first sight seem a little surprising that medicine was not systematically taught in Glasgow till the middle of the eighteenth century. With a University dating back to the middle of the fifteenth, and a medical incorporation founded at the end of the sixteenth century, with the whole of the West of Scotland as their district, one might be apt to assume that the burgh possessed at an early period the necessary elements of a medical school. But the case was otherwise. The constitution of the Faculty possessed no proper elements for the outgrowth of a teaching body. In the seventeenth century, it is true, one of the recognized functions of the visitor was to give lectures, or at least some kind of collective teaching to apprentices. But the object of this instruction was obviously to make up for the defects incident to the system of the isolated training by apprenticeship. This instruction by the visitor would probably be fitful and intermittent, depending for its efficiency on the personal character of the office-bearer. Eventually the practice seems to have fallen into desuetude even before it was superseded by a better system. The University was differently situated. Founded by a Papal Bull, it was authorized to grant degrees in theology, canon and civil law, "*et quavis alia licita facultate*," and the right of the College to teach was apparently as extensive as that of the University to examine. Medicine was not specifically mentioned in the Bull, as it was in some of the foundation charters of St. Andrews and Aberdeen; but the general powers conferred were sufficiently extensive to cover a medical faculty, which existed in the Italian University of which that of Glasgow was understood to be the counterpart. That the University of Glasgow did not earlier rise to a true conception of its duty towards medicine was less the fault of its early members than that of the time and country. Before the Reformation there seems to have been only what was deemed a complete Faculty of Arts, and a less regularly constituted Faculty of Canon Law. For some time after that epoch the Arts subjects

and those connected with theology seem to have been regarded in Glasgow as the most proper for academic study, though the Nova Erectio of James VI. in 1577 provided for the teaching of "physiology" in connection with geography, chronology, and astrology. From that time also University teaching in Glasgow was to a considerable extent dominated by the Kirk, whose wants were too many to leave much room for the supply of those of other interests. The teaching of science was mostly limited to physics, which is doubtless what was denoted by the term "physiologia" of the new charter; and so it was long before it was recognized that medicine should find a place in the University course. The want of resources was another large factor in the case; and, in addition, there was no effective demand for University medical teaching. Physicians in Scotland were few, and the practice of their betaking themselves to the continent for their education eventually placed a factitious value on such a training. It was some time before a home-made physician took rank with the graduates of Italy and France. Then, as regards the ordinary surgeon-apothecary, the system of apprenticeship seems to have been deemed adequate. Before the end of the seventeenth century there existed the rudiments of a medical school in Edinburgh, formed even before the Town's College had properly developed into a University. But this example failed to stimulate their western neighbours. Except for the nominal tribute paid to medicine by the appointment of Dr. Robert Mayne as professor[1] of the subject (1637-46), nothing was heard of this department in the seventeenth century. The eighteenth century brought with it better promise for the recognition of science; but as regards medicine the acknowledgment was still tardy. The examining and degree-granting function was exercised for nearly half a century before the College used effectively its power to teach. From 1703, when Samuel Benion—an Englishman who, if not the first medical graduate, appears to be the earliest of that century whose name is published in the *Munimenta*[2]—was admitted to graduation, down to the middle of the century, a few candidates, amongst whom was Mr. Robert Houston, the first ovariotomist,[3] requested to be examined with a view to graduation. On these occasions a Board, consisting partly of physicians practising in the town, was improvised for each examination. There are also in the *Munimenta* one or two entries recording that the degree had been bestowed on persons who were not examined; but such

[1] There is evidence that Dr. Mayne actually prelected. Thus Principal Baillie, writing in 1643, says: "Dr. Maine on the Fridays Afternoon and other dyetts hath very elegant discourses on the choycest Physick questions." (*Baillie's Letters and Journals*, edited by David Laing, II. 72. Edin., 1842.)

[2] II. 376. One medical graduate was apparently admitted as early as 2nd August, 1469. "Receptus ad gremium universitatis et privilegia et libertates Magister Andreas de Garleis doctor in medicinis." (*Munimenta*, II. 74.)

[3] Chap. XIII. 117.

cases were apparently rare, and it is to the honour of the University of Glasgow that this traffic in medical degrees, which is a blot on the escutcheon of two of the Scottish Universities, was not chargeable against her. Some funds being at last forthcoming for the purpose from the appropriation of certain Crown grants, a beginning of a medical faculty was made in 1714, when the Chair of Medicine, which had been in abeyance since the death of Dr. Mayne, in 1646, was resuscitated. The first incumbent was Dr. John Johnstoun, a young physician practising in the town, who had graduated in medicine in Utrecht five years previously. The next professorship to be instituted was that of Anatomy (with which was conjoined Botany) in 1720, Dr. Thomas Brisbane being the first to hold it. He was the son of the Dr. Matthew Brisbane who has been mentioned in the last chapter as having filled the offices of Dean of Faculty and Rector. But these professorial appointments probably were little more than titular. Thus Wodrow, himself the son of a Glasgow professor, and living close to the town, and who must, it is presumed, have known the facts in regard to medical teaching in the College in his day, speaking of a royal visitation of the University in 1726 says: "Dr. Brisbane, I believe, might have been scored off, but in examination they found his patent did not oblidge him to teach. In short, Dr. Johnstoun teaches us little, and praelects none."[1] Wodrow, by the way, is here scarcely accurate in regard to the commission of Dr. Brisbane. His patent did oblige him to teach comparative anatomy; and by an Act of the Visitors in 1727 he was ordered to teach botany if five scholars entered, and anatomy if ten students were enrolled, and in any case he was still under obligation to "praelect" on anatomy once a week.[2] If additional evidence of the sinecure nature of the appointment as regards medicine were necessary, it is supplied by Mr. Robert Wallace, a Glasgow surgeon, who studied under Cullen. He says, "Dr. Johnstone was at that time (*i.e.* on Cullen's advent in Glasgow) Professor of Medicine, but did not give lectures . . . Dr. Brisbane . . . never gave lectures."[3] In 1742 Dr. Brisbane was succeeded in the Chair of Anatomy and Botany by Dr. Robert Hamilton, and the new incumbent began to teach the former subject. Dr. Hamilton, who belonged to an old county family, had been educated in Glasgow, and had obtained a degree from the University. His beginning must have been on a small scale; but to him appears to be due the credit of clearing the ground on which could be laid the foundation of a medical school. His prospects must have been at first very discouraging. It was long before the day of the Anatomy Act, and there was no recognized legal machinery for obtaining sufficient material for dissection. Some of the students, or those purveying for them, appear to have betaken themselves thus early to illicit modes of supplying this want, or rumours to this effect may have gone abroad. Something of the kind may at all events be inferred from the following manifesto which

[1] *Analecta*, III. 332. [2] *Munimenta*, II. 580. [3] Thomson's *Life of Cullen*, I. 24.

the Faculty thought it necessary to record on 5th June, 1744: "The said day the ffaculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow being in full ffaculty assembled, They in abhorrence and detestation of the crime of violating the dead do hereby revive and confirm their former Acts against it, particularly an Act declaring all members of the ffaculty guilty thereof to be incapable of being any longer members of said Faculty, and to forfeit all privileges they or theirs may claim by their having been members thereof; and that apprentices guilty shall for ever be excluded to be members of sd. ffaculty tho' otherways Intitled by their services." The rule above referred to appears never to have been put in force, no occasion for doing so having arisen. It does not appear whether publicity was given to the Minute. If it was published, the object may have been to allay apprehension; or, if not, it would serve as a renewed admonition to members and their apprentices to eschew the crime of being found out.

With the professorship of medicine still a sinecure, there was little that could be effected. An acting and capable teacher of medicine was now the most urgent want. For some time back the eyes of a few discerning men had been turned to a medical practitioner in Hamilton as one likely to achieve much, opportunity being favourable. William Cullen was born in Hamilton in 1710, and apprenticed, when about fifteen years of age, to John Paisley, a member of the Faculty in Glasgow. He also attended some of the Arts' classes at the University. After finishing his apprenticeship he made a voyage to the West Indies as surgeon to a merchantman. On his return he practised as a surgeon in Auchinlee, parish of Shotts. Leaving that village he studied for two years at the Edinburgh Medical School, then fast rising into great importance, and then settled to practice in Hamilton in 1736. This being within the jurisdiction of the Faculty, he applied that year to be examined for the membership. The date for his examination was appointed, and the subjects in which he was to be publicly tested, as was usual in these days, duly minuted. When the time arrived, it is recorded that the examination was postponed, and it appears never to have taken place; and when he was admitted eight years later it was as a physician, in virtue of his degree obtained from the University of Glasgow in 1740. The reason of this mischance probably was that Cullen had almost, from his first start in Hamilton, resolved to abandon the practice of surgery, which he disliked, and qualify himself as a physician. He virtually handed over his surgical work in the first instance to his friend William Hunter, afterwards so celebrated, whom he had taken as a pupil, and on the removal of Mr. Hunter to London, to a partner whom he assumed, Mr. Thomas Hamilton, a member of the Faculty. In 1744 Dr. Cullen found himself free to gratify an inclination he had for some time cherished, and to which he was pressed by many friends, to settle in Glasgow with a view, not only to practise, but to teach medicine. His first course of lectures was delivered

outside the University in the winter of that year; whether the teaching was continued in the troublous year of the '45 has not been ascertained. In 1746, by an arrangement with Dr. Johnstoun, the titular Professor of Medicine, he was enabled to deliver his course of lectures on medicine under the wing of the University. It was his great object to found in Glasgow a medical school like that of Edinburgh,[1] and, except the teaching of anatomy, he had everything to do himself. Having stirred up the University to fit up a chemical laboratory in 1747, he embarked, with the aid of Mr. John Carrick, assistant to Dr. Hamilton, the Professor of Anatomy, on the teaching of that subject. In the summer of 1748 he added materia medica and botany to the subjects which he taught. Like the great Haller, he was, in fact, a medical faculty in himself. The amazing versatility and richness of resource which he now displayed is the best proof of the care with which he had prepared himself during his leisure hours in Hamilton and elsewhere for the career on which he had embarked. In 1750 Dr. Johnstoun resigned his chair; and after some delay on the part of the Crown, Dr. Cullen was appointed his successor, entering on the office on 2nd January, 1751.

Such was the small beginning of the Glasgow Medical School, with only a regular teacher of anatomy, and another on medicine, and a class of students perhaps not above twenty. Cullen's lectures on "Medicine" were not read; he merely spoke from notes. This was probably in itself a departure from recognized academic usage, but there was still a greater. He lectured in English at a time when it was still the fashion for University lectures to be delivered in Latin. All the characteristic doctrines of the system of medicine, as subsequently elaborated by him in Edinburgh, were first taught by him in Glasgow. As regards chemistry, Cullen was among the first in this country to expound the subject in its scientific aspects as apart from its connection with pharmacy or medicine. To its industrial applications he made some contributions; and if want of leisure and opportunity prevented him from setting his seal mark on that subject, he had the merit of training and inspiring one who did. It was as the pupil of Cullen that Joseph Black was fired with that enthusiasm for chemistry which enabled him to make the two great discoveries with which his name will ever be associated.

Amidst all these multifarious academic labours, lecturing on medicine (theory as well as practice), on materia medica, on botany, and on chemistry,

[1] In 1765, some ten years after Cullen had been settled in Edinburgh, William Hunter wrote to him suggesting their uniting with Dr. Black to found a great School in Glasgow. "Could you," he writes, "make a sacrifice of the few more guineas you could receive from practice at Edinburgh, and join with me to raise a School of Physic upon a noble plan at Glasgow? I would propose to give all my Museum and Library, and build a Theatre at my own expense, and I should ask nothing for teaching but the credit of doing it with reputation. You and Black, and with those we could chuse, I think could not fail of making our neighbours stare. We should at once draw all the English, and I presume most of the Scotch students."

varied by continuous experimenting in his laboratory, Cullen was all the time a busy physician in the town, with a practice large though not very remunerative, and involving long drives into the country. Little wonder that he began to turn his eyes towards Edinburgh, as affording a field for work where more time could be devoted to elaborating his system and to fresh research. In November, 1755, he was appointed Professor of Chemistry in the University of that city, and entered on duty in January of the year following. This brought about two changes in Glasgow University. Dr. Robert Hamilton, the Professor of Anatomy, was transferred to the Chair of Medicine; and Dr. Joseph Black, Cullen's pupil and friend, obtained the appointment of Professor of Anatomy, a subject for the exposition of which he had no particular aptitude, and as little liking. In the field of chemical research he had already highly distinguished himself. In 1746 he had been sent from Bordeaux, where his parents, who were both of Scottish extraction, resided, to be educated in Glasgow. Cullen, whose student he was, perceived the devotion of Black to physical science, and made him his laboratory assistant. In 1751 he went to Edinburgh to complete his medical education, and while thus engaged he accomplished the brilliant feat of isolating carbonic acid, which inaugurated a new era in chemistry. When he returned to Glasgow as Professor of Anatomy, it was not in that subject that any advancement of science was looked for at his hands. As Cullen's successor in the lectureship on chemistry, he was in his true element. He soon embarked with renewed zest in a series of laboratory experiments, which eventuated in the second discovery which made him famous. This was the evolving of the doctrine of latent heat, probably the most important advance ever made in the realm of chemical physics. Black occupied the Chair of Anatomy only one year, the death of Dr. Robert Hamilton in 1657 opening up to him the appointment to the Chair of Medicine. Like Cullen, he added the exacting duties of a physician to those connected with his labours as a teacher of medicine and chemistry, and as an investigator. His somewhat feeble constitution would probably soon have broken down under the strain of labours so many and harassing, had he not in 1766 followed Cullen to Edinburgh as his successor in the Chair of Chemistry, on the latter being transferred to that of Physic.

Cullen and Black were the actual founders of the Glasgow School of Medicine. It was fortunate that its originators were men who were able to shed lustre upon it, for its early progress was slow and uphill. Especially was it handicapped for want of an hospital. The burgh was slowly growing in population and rapidly in wealth, but it had not attained to a size which, at that time, made a general infirmary a clamant need. The diseased poor were still treated by the members of the Faculty in the Town's Hospital. Whether this institution was ever used to any extent for clinical teaching of any kind is doubtful. There was nothing in the printed rules of the infirmary

of the institution which would warrant us to infer such a use of the wards, though Dr. Cleghorn is stated to have latterly utilized them for the purpose.[1] This, however, could only have been for the half-dozen years immediately preceding the opening of the Royal Infirmary in 1794.

In the Chair of Anatomy, Dr. Black was succeeded by Mr. Thomas Hamilton, brother of Dr. Robert Hamilton, the predecessor of Black. He had the reputation of being superior in talent to his brother; but though quite a competent, he was not a brilliant teacher or anatomist. There is evidence that he had a large practice as a surgeon and reputation as an operator, and that he was a genial member of Glasgow society, a frequenter of the Hodge Podge Club, and, as was the custom in Glasgow in those days, a lover of good fellowship, and possessed of the gifts of wit and humour. He was on terms of friendship with both William and John Hunter, who both esteemed him. On account of ill-health he resigned in 1780, and he died in January, 1782, at the age of fifty-three, having filled the Chair of Anatomy for twenty-four years. His son William succeeded him as professor in 1781. Of the three Hamiltons the youngest was the ablest and most accomplished. Though only twenty-three at his father's death, he was a young man of undoubted promise. After studying and graduating in the Arts classes in Glasgow, and attending the class of medicine in Glasgow and Edinburgh, he was sent to London to complete his education under Dr. William Hunter. By the great anatomist he was treated with almost paternal fondness; and so greatly did he gain his confidence that he invited him to live in his house, and in the course of a year he entrusted him with the entire charge of the dissecting room of his school. When, on the resignation of his father, young Hamilton made application for the Chair, the duties of which he had discharged for a session, Dr. Hunter wrote to the Duke of Montrose "that it was the interest of Glasgow to *give him* rather than his to solicit the appointment." The number of anatomy students had now considerably increased, and young Hamilton entered on his work with high hopes and aims. His industry was great; not only did he lecture on both the subjects of his commission, anatomy and botany; but to those he voluntarily added midwifery, in which he had a large practice, being called, according to his colleague, Dr. Cleghorn, to every difficult case near Glasgow.[2] As if this were not enough to task his energies, he had a large surgical practice and collected materials for a system of surgery, to be illustrated with cases which, however, he did not live to complete. "His constitution," writes Dr. Cleghorn, "somewhat enfeebled by early and intense application to study, was worn out with the toil of business and thought, in which he was continually engaged." He died in 1790, in his 32nd year, leaving two sons, one of whom, Sir William

[1] *University of Glasgow, Old and New*, 108.

[2] *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, IV. 39.

Hamilton, acquired renown in another sphere of academic study; and the younger was Captain Thomas Hamilton, the accomplished author of *Cyril Thornton.*

On the removal of Dr. Black to Edinburgh, in 1766, the Chair of Medicine was filled by Dr. Alexander Stevenson. He was the son of a physician of standing in Edinburgh, and had graduated in medicine at the University of Glasgow in 1749. He began practice as a physician in Glasgow in 1756, and at the time of his appointment to the Chair was a man in good position in the city. It was a difficult task to follow two such men as Cullen and Black; and it was thus his misfortune to be somewhat eclipsed by the high reputation of his predecessors. He was a man of solid talents and great amiability of character. Dr. Stevenson threw himself with earnestness into the movement which resulted in the erection of the Royal Infirmary. He did not however live to see the hospital built. He fell into delicate health, and in 1789 his nephew, Dr. Thomas Charles Hope, was associated with him in the Chair of Medicine, and discharged all the duties. Dr. Stevenson's death took place in 1791. Both Cullen and Black had, as has been stated, conjoined with the duties of the Chair of Medicine those of lecturer on chemistry; but the rapid strides which were being made by the latter science made it fitting that a separate lecturer should be appointed for it. On demitting office Black strongly recommended as his successor in the chemical lectureship Mr. John Robison, son of a Glasgow merchant, born in 1739. He had been for some time attached to the Royal Navy, to which he had rendered valuable scientific service. His appointment in the College seems to have been looked on as only tentative, being renewed from year to year; but he taught the subject in a satisfactory manner, though it was known that his inclinations were rather to the mechanical side of physical science. In 1769 he accepted an appointment connected with the construction of the Russian navy, and in a few years thereafter obtained the Professorship of Physics in the University of Edinburgh. Robison's appointment to the Glasgow lectureship was a merited tribute to his great talents, but it was not made for want of a well-qualified medical candidate for the office. Dr. William Irvine, like Robison, was the son of a Glasgow merchant, and had been educated at the University, where he took his medical degree. Under the tuition of Black, whom he assisted in his first experiments on the latent heat of steam, he developed a strong liking for chemistry. When Robison's more powerful interest succeeded in procuring for himself the chemical lectureship, Irvine, in his disappointment, resolved to leave the City. Some of the members of the University, however, notably Dr. Thomas Reid, the venerable Professor of Moral Philosophy, were loath to lose the services to the University of a man whose worth they knew, and they had interest to obtain the foundation of a lectureship on materia medica, into which Dr. Irvine was installed. Pupils were, however,

still comparatively few; and on Robison's resignation of the lectureship on chemistry, Irvine was appointed to conduct the courses on both subjects, which he did with the best results. His private practice was small, a fact which Dr. Cleghorn attributes to the native honesty and straightforwardness of his character—an explanation which carries with it unpleasant implications as to the conditions of success in medical practice, and may be therefore thought to reflect on the prosperous physician who suggested it. The same authority describes his lectures as remarkable for erudition, sagacity, and explanatory power. A considerable portion of his time and researches were devoted to the industrial applications of science in reference to his native city. But in the midst of his labours he was cut off by fever in 1787.[1]

In both the lectureships of chemistry and materia medica Dr. Irvine was succeeded by Dr. Thomas Charles Hope, son of Dr. John Hope, Professor of Botany in the University of Edinburgh, and nephew of Dr. Stevenson, Professor of Medicine in the University of Glasgow. It has already been stated that on Dr. Stevenson falling into ill-health about two years after his nephew came to Glasgow the latter was appointed colleague and successor to his uncle in the Chair of Medicine. As a lecturer on chemistry and materia medica in Glasgow Dr. Hope had therefore scarcely time to make his mark. In the course of a year he resigned the lectureship on materia medica, retaining the other till 1790. But even after his official connection with the teaching of chemistry in Glasgow had terminated he continued his laboratory experiments with great ardour, and acquired that neatness of lecture-demonstration which so eminently characterized him when he resumed the teaching of the subject. His reputation as a chemist suggested to Dr. Black the idea of having his old pupil associated with him as his assistant and successor in the Edinburgh Chair of Chemistry. The offer was made and accepted in 1795, after he had filled the Chair of Medicine in Glasgow for about six years.

To the lectureship on materia medica, vacated by Dr. Hope, succeeded Dr. Robert Cleghorn, who was transferred to be teacher of chemistry in 1791 when Dr. Hope demitted that office. His reputation in Glasgow as a practical physician, endowed with great sagacity and a finely balanced mind, stood high; but neither in the subject of materia medica nor chemistry did he make any original investigations. As a neat and lucid teacher of chemistry he was appreciated by a fairly large class of students. The appointment in materia medica was given to Dr. Richard Millar, a man of extensive erudition, whose well-known contributions to the history of ancient

[1] In the Town Council Minutes of 1776 there is an entry ordering the treasurer to pay Dr. Irvine eight guineas for his "trouble in searching round Glasgow for water to be brought to the city."

medicine are still appreciated as valuable. It was a well-earned tribute to his scholarship and teaching ability when the lectureship he held was elevated to a professorship in 1831. Dr. Robert Freer succeeded Dr. Hope in the Chair of Medicine, while Dr. James Jeffray secured the Professorship of Anatomy in succession to the last of the Hamiltons. These men belong, however, rather to the nineteenth than to the eighteenth century; and, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter, during their tenure of office the Glasgow Medical School underwent a great expansion.

The end of the century is a convenient date at which to take stock. There was still no proper medical school outside the University, though, as will subsequently appear, provision had been made on paper for such teaching, and that too on a scale to dwarf the defective University courses. Within the College a complete medical school, such as was even then understood by the term, was far from being an accomplished fact. The subjects regularly taught were four—anatomy, chemistry, medicine, and materia medica. Botany was conjoined with anatomy, and was only fitfully taught. For the great departments of surgery and midwifery there was no regular provision at all, though the latter had been taught as an extra subject by the youngest of the Hamiltons, as was the former in connection with anatomy by his successor, Dr. Jeffray. With two such yawning gaps as these, such minor defects as the absence of provision for teaching zoology and medical jurisprudence need not be named. Physiology and pathology were still in their embryo stage of the theory of medicine, the teaching of which lay within the domain of the Professor of Medicine. But the concluding half-dozen years of the century had added to the medical school what might well cover a multitude of defects—a good general hospital.

The Glasgow Medical School was fortunate at its start in having two successive teachers of such enthusiasm and accomplishments as Cullen and Black. Several of their successors, notably Irvine, Hope, the youngest of the Hamiltons, and Robison, were men of conspicuous ability, and probably none of them fell below mediocrity. That several of the best of the Glasgow teachers—Cullen, Black, Robison, and Hope—were transferred to other spheres of labour almost as soon as they had made their mark in Glasgow, was undeniably a calamity to the younger school. There was some slight compensating advantage, however, in the stimulated ambition of younger men who arose to take the place of those removed. Youthful ardour was indeed needed to make up for the lack of the enthusiasm begotten by numbers of students. We have no data as to the size of the classes in those days, but it is certain that towards the end of the century there was a steady increase. It need hardly be added that all the teachers, including those on anatomy and chemistry, had not only their College duties to discharge, but were immersed in the cares of ordinary practice.

It has been said that at the end of the eighteenth century there was no

extra-academic teaching. It would not be strictly accurate to have said that there had never been any such teaching up to the end of that century. We have seen that Dr. Cullen's first course was extra-mural. There had also occasionally been other classes outside the College, such as one on botany by Dr. William Irvine, before his appointment as University lecturer on materia medica. Courses of instruction on midwifery seem also to have been held in the town. In the *Glasgow Journal*, October 15th, 1759, Mr. James Muir advertised such a course: "James Muir, Surgeon, will begin a Course of lectures on Midwifery upon Monday, 12th November. No woman will be admitted to these lectures unless her character for sobriety and prudence is attested by some person of reputation in the place she lives in. Mr. Muir continues as usual to deliver gratis all such women as apply in that way for his assistance. He intends to begin a Course of Midwifery for students about the end of December or beginning of January." A similar advertisement, by Mr. James Monteith, appeared on 19th March, 1778: 'Midwifery: James Monteith, Surgeon (having provided the necessary apparatus), proposes, on Thursday the 26th of March, to begin a course of lectures on the theory and practice of Midwifery, to which will be added a set of lectures on the diseases of women and children, observations on Inoculation, &c. Inquire at his shop, middle of Stockwell Street, or at his lodgings, Miss Semple's, New Street. At a separate hour attendance will be given for the instruction of women in the practice of midwifery."

Muir and Monteith were thus the pioneers of obstetric teaching in Glasgow, and, as we have seen, this work was also carried on by Dr. William Hamilton, Professor of Anatomy. It will be gathered from these advertisements that the schemes of Muir and Monteith were on the lines of that which had been carried out by Dr. William Smellie in London, and even earlier by Grégoire in Paris.[1] In the absence of any institution in Glasgow for the delivery of poor lying-in-women, a field of some kind for clinical practice had to be sought for. It was obtained by the teacher arranging a scheme by which the students should, under the supervision of the instructor, have facilities afforded them of attending women at their own homes. The two classes of students—medical students and midwives—were taught separately; and it is instructive to note that while in the earlier advertisement the more important class was that of the midwives, the relative order as to priority was reversed in the later notice. This would seem to indicate that in Glasgow, as in London, "man-midwifery" was steadily gaining ground with the advance of time. Towards the end of the century obstetrics in Glasgow, especially amongst the better classes, was largely in the hands of the surgeons or general practitioners. Even the physician with sword and

[1] Glaister's *Dr. William Smellie and his Contemporaries.* Glasgow, 1894.

cocked hat did not disdain to act as accoucheur to wealthy or titled patients. It was not, however, till 1815 that a Chair on the subject was established in the University.

In 1764, Dr. Andrew Morris, editor of *Celsus*, obtained the use of the Faculty Hall for reading "Medicall Lectures." It is not known what success he had; but with Joseph Black lecturing on medicine in the College in High Street, it is not likely that Dr. Morris's lectures in the Trongate would prove a strong counter-attraction.

CHAPTER XV

THE FACULTY AND THE MEDICAL CHARITIES OF GLASGOW

THROUGHOUT the whole of the troublous period of the seventeenth century there appears to have existed in Glasgow no institution for the medical treatment of the sick poor. The Faculty, it is true, in accordance with their charter, gave gratuitous advice at their ordinary monthly meetings; but the infrequency of these meetings rendered the service increasingly inadequate to the wants of a growing community. In 1654 they submitted a long memorial "unto the Reverend Moderator, remanent Ministers, Elders, and Decons of the Session of Glasgow," offering "such of our number as may contribute their best skill for the weel of the poore diseased without any payment or reward for ther pains"; but it does not appear from the Records that anything came of this offer. An attempt was early made by the civic authorities to meet the want in their own way. This was, as has been stated, by subsidizing a physician or surgeon (occasionally both), an apothecary, and a "stone-cutter." But even this mode of aid was abandoned in 1684, the reason assigned being, as already stated, the lowness of the municipal exchequer at the time. In the early part of the next century the want became more clamant, and the feeling aroused by the inadequate provision for the destitute poor took practical shape in 1733 in the erection of the Town's Hospital by public subscription. The site was in the Old Green, near the Clyde, a little west from the Stockwell. It was an imposing structure, "resembling," says M'Ure, "more like a palace than a habitation for necessitous old people and children." This institution, in some of its features, anticipated the modern workhouse, though in others it differed from it. Its maintenance was undertaken by the Town Council, the Merchants' House, the Trades' House, and the general Kirk Session, these bodies contributing in definite proportions. Aid was also given to it by a small tax on the citizens, and by benefactions both from individuals and corporations. For many years the Faculty regularly contributed, but they rendered better aid than that

represented by pecuniary subsidy. The members came under obligation to take charge of the infirmary attached to the hospital in rotation, each physician for a year, and each surgeon for half a year—not only the attendance and advice, but the medicines to be supplied gratuitously. This arrangement was fully carried out for many years, and it was all the more honourable to the members in that these services had no reward of a kind which, in more modern times, in some measure compensates the physician or surgeon for unpaid, or inadequately paid, hospital labours. There was, as far as can be gathered, no systematic attempt to utilize the infirmary of the institution for teaching purposes. In 1766, on the occasion of their being solicited for a donation to extend the infirmary, the Faculty thought it right to make some stipulations in regard to its management. These were that at least "20 beds were to be fitted up in a clean and decent manner, 12 of them for the sick poor from the hospital or town that are entitled to the charity, the other 8 to be occupied by the sick poor put in by the physician or surgeon, without any restriction to persons who belonged to the town, or have resided in it for any particular time;—the physician and surgeon in attendance to judge of the propriety of the patients for the whole sick beds, and to dismiss them from the hospital when cured or judged incurable";[1] that a proper number of nurses be appointed, and that the diet be entirely in the power of the medical attendant. To prevent any alarm as to possible extravagance, it was added that "a proper diet will in most cases turn out cheaper than the common allowance of the hospital." The conditions were accepted by the Directors.[2]

This system of relief, in its medical aspects, was unsatisfactory and inadequate. It made no proper provision for clinical teaching; and the want of that indispensable adjunct to a medical school, a general hospital, was therefore keenly felt. A movement, begun in 1787, to supply the want, took shape, and in December, 1794, the Royal Infirmary was formally opened for the reception of patients. To Mr. George Jardine, Professor of Logic in the University, zealously supported by Dr. Alexander Stevenson, Professor of Medicine, was due the credit of initiating the steps which happily led to this result. It is needless to say that the Faculty also

[1] This stipulation would appear to point to the intended use of these beds for clinical instruction; and elsewhere we hear of intended "Lectures" in the infirmary. But we have come on no articulate statement that such instruction was actually given, except by Dr. Cleghorn about 1789-90.

[2] The aversion of the Scottish poor to such institutions was strongly marked. In an account of the Hospital, published in 1737, complaint is made of the prejudice against it entertained even by persons otherwise dependent on charity. Among other things the "confinement" was much disrelished, and pains were taken to show that there were no just grounds for this adverse feeling. It was pointed out that the poor, "besides their going to church every Lord's day, to which they are obliged by the Rules, have liberty and encouragement to attend the several week-day sermons."

took from the first a keen and active interest in the movement. From an exchequer drained almost to dryness, by the combined effects of the establishment of a Widows' fund and the erection of a new hall, they contributed to the building fund the sum of one hundred pounds, being the first of a series of three benefactions of that amount to the institution. To the Board of Managers they were empowered to send four members, three by election, and the President, in virtue of his office. The presence of the Professors of Anatomy and Medicine, and one elected member, secured for the University adequate representation. In this way provision was made for about a fourth of the entire body of Managers being connected with the medical profession.

The history of such an institution as the Royal Infirmary, as regards those aspects of its management which bear on the medical profession, cannot be devoid of interest to the members of that profession, and to others interested in hospital management. Probably few of the present generation know much, if indeed anything, of the controversies which have arisen in connection with the medical affairs of the hospital. Battles have been fought and lost or won which they wot not of. These struggles have occasionally been so violent as to threaten the very existence of the hospital as a clinical school. The parties to these forgotten feuds were as various as were the *casus belli.* Sometimes it was lay against medical directors; at other times University against Faculty members of the Board; and occasionally it took the shape of an intestine feud among the last-named themselves. The generation which witnessed these early struggles having now departed, a brief sketch of some of these forgotten contests may be found of some interest and profit to their successors. They will sometimes recognize in the narrative old phases or forms of questions, with the more modern aspects of which they are already familiar, and they will be in a position to compare the new solution with the old.

Scarcely had the hospital been inaugurated when the Managers had to face the question of its autonomy in reference to the medical and surgical staff. It was inevitable, though not provided by the charter, that the medical officers should be drafted from the Faculty. But were the Faculty to interfere in questions regarding the tenure of office and similar matters connected with the staff? The majority of the Faculty—for there was decided division of opinion among the members—appeared to have no doubt as to their powers. As soon as the Infirmary was opened, they at once, and apparently all unasked, set themselves to frame rules for its medical management. The physicians and surgeons of the Faculty were to act, each class in the rotation of its members—each physician for six months, and each surgeon for two months. Failure to pay the Faculty impost, called "quarter accounts," was to disqualify a surgeon for hospital duty. The duties of assistant surgeons, clerks, etc., down to the apothecary,

the rules for consultations, were all laid down, cut and dry, for the officers of the new institution.

Some things may be said in extenuation of this attitude of meddlesome presumption on the part of the majority of the Faculty. All the available medical officers were their own members. They had long been accustomed to this autocratic procedure in the Town's Hospital Infirmary. In the Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh—the hospital nearest to them—something of this kind of rapid rotation prevailed. The members of the Royal College of Surgeons attended by turns for two months at a time. One of the results, we are not surprised to learn, was that the hospital had practically fallen into the hands of the junior members. The senior surgeons declined to avail themselves of the barren privilege of such a brief tenure of office. It was against this system that Dr. James Gregory, in his well-known "Memorial,"[1] protested with such eloquence and incisive vigour. Another consideration also will make more intelligible the attitude of the Faculty at that period. In those first days the lay members were much inclined to lean in most matters of medical management on the advice of the medical members of the Board. But when all this has been said, it must still be suspected that some rather unworthy feelings of professional jealousy underlay their action; that at the root of the desire for rapid rotation of surgical attendance lay the fear that, with longer opportunities of acquiring skill and dexterity, one or two surgeons would be sure to outstrip the others. In the Faculty Records, indeed, this feeling is naïvely given expression to with more or less articulateness. As regards their opportunities, they held that all medical officers should be equal. In a "Remonstrance," which, in 1795, they addressed to the Managers, they tell the Board plainly that every plan of medical attendance which "owns the principle of *Election* for its basis has always proved to contain within itself the principle of partiality"; that "friendship, ambition, sometimes avarice, have subdued the independent spirit of free election, and substituted in its place canvassing and cabal." The doctrine is broadly laid down that one of the chief functions of the hospital is that it should be of the greatest use to the greatest possible number of practitioners within the city, and that this could only happen if each of them got his turn of service, with a good deal to the same purpose, but couched in less respectful language. No wonder that the astonished Managers, in referring the document to the Court of Contributors, took occasion to animadvert upon its "spirit and tendency as advancing principles inconsistent with the undoubted right which the General Court have by their charter to establish such rules and arrangements as they shall judge proper without the interference of any other person whatever."

On this point the Faculty were torn up into two parties. The minority,

[1] "Memorial to the Managers of the Royal Infirmary," Edinburgh, 1800.

which, in point of influence, though not of numbers, outweighed the dominant side, included Drs. Cleghorn and Hope, physicians; and Messrs. Robert Wallace (for some years the Nestor of the Faculty), Alexander Dunlop, Robert Cowan, Charles Wilson, Archibald Young, William Couper, and James Towers. In a counter memorial these members of the minority called upon the Managers to vindicate their chartered right of making their own arrangements for the house.

The plan adopted, and which in substance, though varied now and again by alterations in detail, continued in operation for half a century, was as follows: Four surgeons were elected by the Managers, to continue in office for two years. One of these took charge of all the surgical cases for three months during the first year, and for the same length of period during the second year, after which he became ineligible for two years. At the end of that period he was generally re-elected for other two years, when he became absolutely ineligible. In his first biennium he was called a junior, and in his second a senior, surgeon. In this way only one surgeon attended at a time, the other three being called in for consultation on important operations. In 1824 the increase of surgical cases rendered it necessary to somewhat modify the plan. It was enacted that two of the four surgeons should be on duty daily, and for six months in place of three. In 1829 the period of consecutive attendance was extended to twelve months. In a few years afterwards the growth of the hospital required the appointment of four surgeons, who held office for as many years, and did duty daily. At the end of four years they were eligible for re-election, but having completed eight years' service they became ineligible for one year. In 1870 a change was again effected in the tenure of office, mainly at the instigation of Dr. J. G. Fleming, one of the Managers, in a pamphlet published in that year,[1] in which, among other reforms, he strongly urged the abrogation of the rule requiring a year of ineligibility; and shortly thereafter the Managers gave effect to this alteration. The tenure of office under a regulation passed in 1879 was limited to fifteen years. Although the changes subsequently made scarcely lie within the purview of this sketch, it may be stated in a word, that in 1883 there was effected a reduction in the period of continuous service of both physicians and surgeons to ten years, and that this rule is still in force at the present time (1896), subject to a proviso that the Managers may in special cases re-elect a medical officer for a further quinquennium, and this they have done in several instances.

Turning now to the medical side of the Infirmary, the course of events for many years shaped themselves very differently. The essential element of difference was the limited number of physicians from whom to make a selection. At the time the hospital was opened, and for about a dozen

[1] *A Letter to the Managers of the Glasgow Royal Infirmary on the Medical Organisation of the Institution.*

years thereafter, the doctors of medicine in Glasgow were what are known as "pure" physicians. The possession of a degree, which, while adding dignity to practice, limited its range, was not coveted by the members of the profession generally. They could not afford to graduate. In the eighteenth century we have seen that such men as John Gordon, John Moore, and later, James Monteath, looked on the degree as the crown of comparative leisure to a life of toil. It was an honour to be accepted only after many years of hard work in general practice. Two or perhaps three physicians were all that a community like Glasgow, or even the West of Scotland, was able to maintain. But the nineteenth century was only a few years old when there came a change. Doctors of medicine began to multiply in the land. The surgeon or general practitioner became ambitious of having a degree long before he could afford to dispense with the ordinary run of practice. On the other hand, the medical schools of the Universities were becoming better equipped and organized. Gradually, therefore, the taking of the medical degree came to be regarded as the natural outcome and termination of the College course.[1] How far this natural movement gathered force from the easy terms on which the honour could at some Universities be obtained we need not inquire. Now, how were all these doctors of medicine to gain a living? Only a very few of them could hope to practise as "pure" physicians. The bulk of them had no alternative but to break through immemorial usage and betake themselves to general practice.

It has been stated that when the Royal Infirmary was opened only "pure" physicians were appointed to the medical wards. Their number being few it was inevitable that the same men should again and again be re-appointed. It was indeed a case in which the Faculty's pet scheme of rotation was almost compatible with permanency of tenure. About 1830, however, opinion had been ripening for a change. The two hospital physicians of that period, Dr. Richard Millar and Dr. John Balmanno, were the only "pure" physician graduates who practised at all. Other doctors of medicine there were who did not practise as surgeons, but neither did they practise as physicians.[2] In their dire extremity the Managers had appointed as assistant physician Dr. Charles Badham, Professor of Medicine in the

[1] Any one curious to note the progress of the movement towards medical graduation may study it in a graphic form in the table or list of surgeons of the Royal Infirmary from 1795 to 1832, given at page 26 of Buchanan's History of that institution. For several years not a single surgeon has the "M.D." In 1804 a solitary one appears; while, as the eye travels down the columns, it will be found that after 1820 it is the exception rather than the rule to find a surgeon a non-graduate. The same fact is brought out even more markedly by the lists of the members of the Faculty for the same period.

[2] Dr. Thomas Thomson was a chemist. Dr. William Couper had in a great measure relinquished practice in his zeal for natural science. The case of Dr. Badham is referred to in the text.

University. Though an erudite lecturer in physic, the learned professor was well-known to eschew the practice of it, living as he did on the continent for half the year. He is said to have accepted the office in the hospital as physician on the stipulated condition of not being obliged to see cases of fever. Public feeling in the ranks of the profession was now expressed with freedom. Why should general practice disqualify a man who had a medical degree from appointment as a hospital physician? The Faculty took the matter up and addressed to the Managers a memorial on the subject. They pointed out that matters had almost come to a deadlock; that the great majority of doctors of medicine in the city were in general practice; and that the exclusion of these from the office of physician limited the choice to two consulting physicians and one or two others not engaged in practice at all. They therefore urged that the interests of the hospital would be best served by now throwing the office of physician open to doctors of medicine of standing, whether engaged in general practice or not. As time went on, feeling in the profession became more embittered. The term "pure" physician was used by way of a sneer. The purity was denied altogether, and illustrative cases of non-purity adduced. Stories again were put in circulation in which the "purity" was admitted and ridiculed as quixotic.[1] The "pures" themselves came out with a strong manifesto in the shape of a long memorial to the Managers, bristling with arguments, and edged with stinging sarcasm. They refer to the recent multiplication of medical degrees: "Every surgeon almost has been ambitious to purchase a diploma, and the Universities have for many years back driven a very profitable trade in selling such distinctions." But the difference between a physician and a surgeon cannot be abrogated merely by giving the latter a degree. It is not the degree alone that makes the physician. It is the purity of practice. A doctor-surgeon does not get a physician's fee. The physician indeed cannot sue for his fee at all, whereas the other can. Substitute surgeons with medical titles for proper physicians, urge the "pures," and you will disqualify the Glasgow school for recognition at the East India and other Boards. The condition of a clinical school without a genuine physician is painted in darkest colours. The "medico-chirurgico-obstetrico-practitioner"—by which sesquipedalian appelative they suggest the new physician should be known—ought to receive only a fraction of the physician's hospital honorarium, as he divests himself for the nonce of his surgical and obstetrical functions. Then, again, as the new system is inaugurated it will bring with it the vicious accompaniment of rapid rotation of office. "The exhibition of surgeons in the Glasgow Infirmary is a mere phantasmagoria—they are no sooner seen than they are gone—flitting for ever away and disappearing from the scene like the spectre kings of Macbeth." These are a few of the gems in a document drawn with

[1] Buchanan's *History of the Glasgow Royal Infirmary*, 24.

considerable argumentative and satirical force; but it concluded with what was virtually the despairing admission that their cause was lost. In the meeting of the Court of Contributors the proposal of Dr. Richard Millar to continue on the old lines did not even find a seconder. The new regulation enacted that any doctor of medicine of fifteen years' standing was eligible to the office of physician. The subsequent changes in regard to the number, rotation, and period of service of the physicians need not here be adverted to. They proceeded for the most part *pari passu* with the corresponding changes on the surgical side of the Infirmary. At the present time (1896) the only condition of eligibility to the office of either physician or surgeon is that he shall have been a registered medical practitioner for six years. As contrasted with the provisions of some other great hospitals in this country having reference to the qualifications of their staff, such a rule may be regarded as almost the *ne plus ultra* of liberality as well as of simplicity.

CHAPTER XVI

THE FACULTY AND THE MEDICAL CHARITIES AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS OF GLASGOW

IN 1809 occurred a collision, though not of much importance, between the Faculty and the Royal Infirmary. That the former were legally in the right regarding the point at issue was subsequently proved by the result of a lawsuit. The Managers appointed as one of the surgeons a Dr. M'Dougall, nephew of Dr. Jeffray, Professor of Anatomy in the University, whose only qualification was the Doctorate of Medicine of the University. The President of the Faculty protested on the spot against the appointment as involving a violation of the chartered rights of the Faculty. In evidence of their contention they submitted a legal opinion from Mr. Robert Davidson, Professor of Law in the University; and they further contended that the appointment was insulting to them as being liable to the construction that no surgeon of sufficient eminence could be found within the Faculty. As will be seen in the next chapter, the question whether the degree of M.D. or any other University degree could be held as qualifying its holder to practise as a surgeon within the Faculty's territorial jurisdiction, was raised before the Courts a few years later. If the action of the Faculty from our present standpoint should appear unnecessarily assertive, it must be borne in mind that they saw the profession beginning to be inundated with the new graduates, and the question of their powers was therefore one of vital interest to them. They pointed out to the Managers that their services to the hospital had been unstinted, and that it was, to say the least, ungracious as well as inexpedient in the directors of a public hospital to alienate the good-will of the men by whose public-spirited services the institution had been chiefly upheld. The Managers, in reply, acknowledged the services in the most cordial terms, but declined on this question to come under obligation in the selection of their staff. But they practically acknowledged the wrong step at the next vacancy by not re-appointing Dr. M'Dougall. No case of the kind occurred again as long as the rule of territorial jurisdiction lasted.

A question, involving deeper issues than any raised by this petty contest, emerged for discussion in 1812. It was connected with the subject of clinical teaching. The first clinical lectures in Glasgow seem to have been delivered in the session 1797-98 by Mr. John Burns, then a very young man.[1] In a memorial to the Managers in 1797, he pointed out the advantages of this method of teaching, and requested permission to give a course in the session ensuing, which was readily granted. From that session clinical lectures continued to be given in the hospital; not always regularly—often, indeed, fitfully and at intervals, and probably without much system or common method. Sometimes a whole session, or even more, seems to have been intermitted. There was no obligation on the medical officers to give clinical lectures, and there was as little obligation on the students to attend them. Fitful and methodless teaching of this kind could not but be unsatisfactory. A reform was clearly called for; the interests of the medical school, rapidly rising in numbers[2] and importance, demanded it. In 1810 the medical students were even driven to the necessity of memorializing the directors to provide regular clinical instruction. The medical officers, on their part, represented that the students could not be counted on to attend a non-compulsory course. This appeared to shift the *onus* of putting matters right on to the qualifying bodies.

The first to move when matters were in this condition was the Medical Faculty of the University. In 1812 they made a proposal to the Managers that the University "should appoint annually in rotation two physicians from the Medical Professors and Lecturers belonging to the College, one of whom will be required to deliver clinical lectures during the first three months, and the other during the last three months of the session." These lecturers thus appointed were to be allowed to select patients from any part of the hospital, and to treat them. In return the University would make it obligatory on all their students to attend these lectures. To this scheme the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons strongly objected, as establishing a monopoly of an odious kind, and being obviously liable to adverse criticism on the score of hospital organization. They insisted that the ordinary medical officers of the house for the time being were the only persons fitted to give lectures. This opposition put an end at that time to the proposal. At this period unfriendly relations subsisted between the University and the Faculty, and probably the Managers delayed to take action till a more amicable feeling was established between the two corporations. But as years went on the relations between the two bodies became more strained, while bitter lawsuits between them dragged on their

[1] In *Glasgow, Ancient and Modern*, Vol. II., 1249, this priority is assigned to Mr. William Dunlop, afterwards one of the conductors of the *Glasgow Herald*. This statement does not seem to be borne out by the Records of the Infirmary.

[2] For the progress of the school, see page 170, *et seq.*

costly length. In 1824 the suggestion to organize clinical instruction was again brought forward. It was fully time; during the twelve years since the former proposal matters in the hospital had gone from bad to worse, and for several of these years clinical teaching seems to have entirely fallen into desuetude. The University again revived the old scheme in a somewhat modified form. The new proposal had reference only to surgery, and its originator was Dr. John Burns, Professor of Surgery, who has been already mentioned as the first clinical lecturer in Glasgow. The plan was that the Professor of Surgery should be appointed *ex officio* to lecture on clinical surgery, having the power to select suitable cases and to treat them, this including the power to operate. The details of the scheme were elaborated with much care. This proposal again brought the Faculty into the field with their former objections against monopoly in clinical teaching. They further pointed out that the scheme was subversive of proper notions of hospital autonomy; that the clinical lecturer, though not appointed by the Managers, would be a permanent surgeon, with extraordinary powers and privileges; that in the exercise of these powers he would be brought into frequent jarring collision with the ordinary surgeons; and that no surgeon of standing would accept office subject to the conditions of such an arrangement. The matter was remitted to a committee of the Managers, who reported against the scheme. When the report of this committee came up for discussion a kind of *coup d'état* was effected. The report was not adopted; a new committee was appointed, with pronounced leaning to the side of the University, and composed entirely of laymen. This committee reported in favour of a method which may be deemed a compromise, but was in reality distinctly favourable to the claims of the University. It was to the effect that two lecturers in clinical surgery should be appointed, one by the University and the other by the Managers; that the former should lecture the first three months, and the latter during the last three months; and they further recommended that the same plan should be followed in regard to clinical medicine, "unless the University consent in this to entrust the directors with the appointment." This plan, they said, would meet the difficulty "by dividing the patronage equally." The University at once accepted the arrangement, and drafted a scheme for carrying it into effect, promising at the same time to make the courses compulsory as regarded their own students. The action of the Faculty at this important crisis was as dignified as it was resolute. In the remonstrance which they sent to the Board, they pointed out that men who could speak of the Managers "dividing the patronage" of an institution, whose government was by charter entrusted to them alone, and the selection of whose medical officers was theirs by inalienable right, had never risen to a conception of their duties and responsibilities. They answered the arguments of the University point by point. The plea that the Senate must have control over the lecturer whom

they accredited was met by the reply that the Senate had even now no control (as they formerly had) over the nomination of any professor, the appointment being made by the Crown. The argument that a permanent lecturer would alone think it worth while to prepare a course of lectures was combated by a reference to the organic distinction between systematic and clinical instruction, the latter being based on the cases in the wards at the time. The plea of academic usage was met by pointing to the University of Edinburgh, where the question of not recognizing non-professorial clinical lecturers had not been even raised. They remind the Managers that the Faculty had a *clientèle* of students and a curriculum of study as well as the University; that the question whether the University had even the power to grant degrees in surgery, and thus control the larger part of the field of practice, was still *sub judice* in the law courts; and they suggested the awkward nature of the consequences of the Faculty declining to make clinical lectures compulsory, and of the pending lawsuit being decided in their favour. Finally, they declare their resolution, as individually expressed in Faculty assembled, to take no part whatever in the work of the hospital, should the proposed obnoxious monopoly be established by the Managers.

It was to this determined stand made by the Faculty that the defeat of the scheme to vest the patronage of the clinical lectureships, in whole or in part, in other hands than those of the Managers, was due. The University influence at the Board was deservedly powerful. Professor Jardine, to whose initiative and great exertions the Infirmary in some measure owed its existence, had been succeeded on the Board by Professor Meikleham, and on the same side were Dr. Robert Freer and Dr. James Jeffray. In point of reputation no surgeon in Glasgow could compare with Professor John Burns, whose whole influence was thrown in on the same side, though at the time he was not a member of the Board. The whole contest, it should be remembered, took place under the baleful shadow of the lawsuit which the parties were pursuing from court to court, of which an account will be given in Chapter XVIII.

The contest was not yet ended, but space forbids us to pursue its course further in detail. Suffice it to say that the scheme to vest in the Senate of the University the power to appoint clinical lecturers in the Infirmary was eventually abandoned in 1828. Next year, and apparently without any prompting from either party, the Managers quietly solved the problem in their own way. Neither the University nor the Faculty would make attendance on clinical lectures obligatory till they saw a plan for teaching which met their approval. In view of this position, the Managers themselves provided the necessary obligation to attend. They resolved that every student of the hospital should take one course of clinical medicine and one course of clinical surgery. These were to be given each session by one or more of the physicians and surgeons of the hospital appointed annually for

that purpose by the Managers. The fee charged covered both the hospital practice and the clinical course, a fixed proportion of it being allocated to the lecturer.

The scheme was inaugurated in the session of 1829-30, and was found to work well. Modifications of it were made from time to time till the point was reached that every physician and surgeon of the hospital was empowered to be a clinical lecturer in his own department. The Faculty added clinical medicine and clinical surgery to their list of imperative subjects as soon as the scheme came into operation. The University declined to take this step for many years, till in fact the old wound began to be healed over. But to the Infirmary this was now a matter of little consequence, as the plan which they had adopted dispensed with the necessity of the co-operation of either of the parties.

Going back a little in point of date, the Faculty in 1817 made an ineffectual resistance to a regulation of the Infirmary passed at the meeting of the Court of Contributors held in January of that year. We have seen that the Faculty have four representatives at the Board of Management, three by direct election, and the President in virtue of his office. It sometimes happened that some of these representatives were also at the same time medical officers of the house. It was inevitable that occasions should arise in which such an arrangement would work badly, unless the holder of the two offices was a man of discretion and good sense. In 1816 there occurred a violent dispute between two of the surgeons, Mr. Granville Pattison and Mr. Hugh Miller, the latter accusing the former of unprofessional conduct at a consultation in the hospital. Mr. Pattison demanded an inquiry, which was granted by the Managers. Being found in the wrong, he was called before the Board of Managers, and formally reprimanded. Indeed so grave did they consider the case, that they omitted Mr. Pattison's name from the annual vote of thanks at the meeting of contributors held in January, 1817. Mr. Miller, the aggrieved party, who happened to be a Manager as well as a surgeon, took an active part in the case in his capacity of Manager. This exhibition of bad taste appears to have attracted the attention of another of the Managers, Mr. Kirkman Finlay, M.P., who proposed at the meeting of the Court of Contributors in 1817, "That from and after the first day of November next it shall not be competent for any person to be at the same time a Manager of the institution and a medical officer of the house,"—the *ex officio* medical members of the Board being expressly excepted. The motion was carried, and the Faculty, under a mistaken sense of wrong, took up the matter rather warmly but unavailingly. The regulation, after it had been in operation for half a century, seems for some time to have been allowed to fall into desuetude, but about the year 1883 it was again revived in a form which made no exception of *ex officio* Managers.[1]

[1] "No Manager shall be eligible for appointment; and if any physician or surgeon shall

The connection of the Faculty and the other medical charities of the city may be dismissed in fewer words, as "no burning questions" affecting the profession appear to have emerged in their history. Taken in the order of their institution, the Glasgow Humane Society can hardly be called a medical charity in the ordinary sense of the term, though it is to the results of the researches of the medical profession on the best means of resuscitating the drowned that the usefulness of such societies is mainly due. But the Glasgow Society has also a historical bond of connection with the Faculty. In 1787 Mr. James Coulter, a Glasgow merchant, bequeathed the sum of £200, under trust of the Faculty, for the foundation of a fund for instituting a society in Glasgow for the rescue and restoration of the apparently drowned. The Faculty at once communicated with the Royal Humane Society of London to ascertain the constitution and methods of operation of such an association. The London Society met the request of the Faculty in the most cordial manner, and generously presented a set of their apparatus, drags, etc., and also a copy of all their reports, free of expense. Thus was the Glasgow Humane Society inaugurated. A close connection between the Faculty and the Society founded in Glasgow under their auspices and partly by their exertions was kept up for many years. The chairman and secretary were generally members of the Faculty, and up to the present time the latter official has always been a Fellow; while the president, the visitor, and the treasurer of the Faculty are *ex officio* directors of the society.

Up to the beginning of the present century there was no proper provision in Glasgow for the guardianship and treatment of the insane. A ward or two in the Town's Hospital were, it is true, devoted to the reception of the insane poor. But the accommodation was wretched. The "cells," as they were specially and aptly named, were horrible dens, cold, and damp, and dreary. They were intended, and adapted to be, simply places of restraint, all ideas of humane guardianship, far less of restoration or treatment, being discarded. For the insane of the well-to-do classes there was no local provision of any kind. The enlightened views and practice introduced by such men as Pinel, in France, and Tuke and Conolly, in England, had, however, obtained a hold of the intelligence and feelings of the community. The first to make a movement for a separate institution were the directors of the Town's Hospital, urged thereto by one of their number, Mr. Robert M'Nair of Belvidere, whose soul had been stirred within him by the sights he had witnessed in the "cells."

The condition of these "cells" was fast becoming the opprobrium of the city. At the instigation of the directors the Lord Provost communicated with the Faculty in 1805. He intimated their intention to move for the

accept the office of Manager, or any office in virtue whereof he shall *ex officio* be a Manager, he shall cease to hold the appointment." (*Rules, etc., revised and reprinted in 1884.*)

institution in Glasgow of an asylum for the insane, and earnestly requested the co-operation and assistance of the Faculty to enable them to accomplish their humane object. The Faculty at once appointed a committee for this purpose, and a constitution was drawn up, by which the Faculty and the other chief corporate bodies in the City sent their representatives to the Directorate of the asylum. The Faculty proved their earnestness by contributing £100 to the funds. The first building, situated in what is now Parliamentary Road, but at that time in the midst of green fields, was begun in 1810 and finished in 1814. By the year 1842 the house was found to be too small, and the fine pile of Gartnavel was then begun, to which, when completed, the asylum was transferred, the house in Parliamentary Road being left to be utilized by the City Parish as a poorhouse, with hospital and asylum. Dr. Cleghorn, and after him Dr. Balmanno, at first acted as visiting physicians of the asylum. In the later years of the life of Dr. Balmanno the establishment had so increased that it required almost the whole of his attention; and on his death in 1840 the arrangement to have a resident physician superintendent was made.

In 1805 an abortive attempt was made to found in Glasgow a Lying-in hospital. The Faculty, when appealed to, declined to assist the undertaking on the ground that it appeared to be promoted for private ends. The plea was, no doubt, perfectly valid; but it raised a large and difficult question, no proper solution of which has been found in this country down to the present time.

Whatever may be said of the later history of the special hospitals of the City, they have all, with one or two undoubted exceptions, been originated by medical men; and it is not uncharitable to suppose that the main motive in every case was to afford to their founders facilities for the prosecution of their own specialties. This is, no doubt, a considerable public evil. The power of originating any description of eleemosynary institution, without any check, is indeed hardly compatible with the wellbeing of society. In the absence of any power to apply a wholesome veto when there exists no real want, special institutions may be multiplied indefinitely, with the inevitable result of destroying the healthy sense of independence of not a few of the community; while the actual necessities as regards these specialties could be effectively met by the ordinary general hospital. In its subsequent dealings with these institutions the Faculty seems uniformly to have acted on the principle of declining to co-operate with any special hospital until it had attained to that period in its development when it was governed by a responsible Board of Directors. In 1834 a successful attempt to found a Maternity Institution was made, largely by the exertions of Dr. James Wilson, who remained one of its medical officers till his death. The Faculty contributed to its support till it became firmly established. On the Directorate they had two representatives, one by election

and the President in virtue of his office. In 1880, on their contributing £100 to the funds, they stipulated for another director being elected by them, which was at once allowed.

Of other medical charities, such as the Eye Infirmary, founded mainly by the exertions of Dr. William Mackenzie and Dr. G. C. Monteith in 1824, and some of modern date, we cannot now speak. In regard to the Western Infirmary, opened in 1874, the institution of which was rendered necessary, not primarily by the increase of the population so much as by the migration of the University to its new home on Gilmorehill, it need only be said that the Faculty's subscription of five hundred guineas, the largest recorded in their annals, betokened their interest in the cause of medical education, as it also indicated the healing of the wounds of the long contest between the University and the Faculty.

Turning now from the medical charities of the city to institutions of another class, the Royal Botanic Institution, to which the citizens were indebted for the Botanic Garden, may be instanced as an institution with which the Faculty were early identified, and in which they evinced a practical interest. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they encouraged the formation of what were called "physic gardens," by some of their members; and for many years they gave regular or occasional subsidies to several of their members for this object. But it was eventually found that for the purpose they had in view this method was inadequate. The rapid expansion of the city also appeared to call for the formation of a garden on a more extensive scale, in which might be cultivated not merely plants connected with the materia medica, but representatives of the vegetable world fitted to delight the senses and refine the taste. To the formation and maintenance of such a garden the Faculty agreed to contribute annually the sum of thirty guineas, in consideration of which every member was to receive the privileges of a subscriber of one share. Further, to secure their being represented on the Management, they purchased for one hundred and twenty guineas twelve shares, to be put in the names of any twelve members whom the Faculty might from time to time select. Instead of paying the capital sum they agreed to pay annually interest thereon at five per cent., which brought up the annual contribution to £37 16s., which payment accordingly figures in the accounts till a few years ago, when the garden passed into the hands of the City authorities.

With regard to some other public institutions of a non-medical character with which the Faculty have been intimately associated, either as regards their origin or management, it is only necessary to instance one. The founder of Stirling's Library was Mr. Walter Stirling, a Glasgow merchant, the son of that Mr. William Stirling whose admission to the Faculty in 1714 was the cause of one of the quarrels between the surgeons and the barbers.[1] For the

[1] Chap. x. 86.

formation of the library Mr. Stirling bequeathed to trustees his collection of books in his house in Miller Street, £1000 in money, and certain shares in the Tontine Society. On the Board of Directors the Faculty have three elected representatives. They have also one representative on the Directorate of Baillie's Institution, the most recent in origin of the public libraries of the City.

CHAPTER XVII

THE FACULTY IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

"THE poor were visited gratis, and the Faculty adjourned," is the stereotyped formula, so familiar to the Fellows, with which every Minute of the monthly meeting concludes. To account for it we must go back for three centuries to the origin of the Faculty in 1599. During all that time it has been the duty of the corporation, enjoined by their charter, "to conveen every first Mononday of ilk moneth at some convenient place to visit and give counsell to puir diseasit folks gratis." When the practice of the Faculty regularly meeting for their ordinary business on that day was fully established, the matter of the giving of gratuitous advice was minuted as one of the *agenda*, and took precedence in the Minute of other business. During the two centuries following their institution then, the Faculty strictly adhered to the letter of the charter. At the end of that period they began to realize that a better means might be devised to carry out the spirit of the injunction. The interval between the monthly meetings was too great for the effective discharge of useful medical charity; to be of much value the advice must be given oftener. The gratuitous attendance by rotation at the Town's Hospital was not looked upon as exonerating the Faculty from the performance of their prescribed duty. At the beginning of the present century an excellent opportunity presented of converting a doubtful into a real boon to the poor. Some two years before the end of the eighteenth century, the profession in Glasgow had begun in a tentative way to utilize Jenner's great discovery. William Nimmo is mentioned as the first surgeon in the city who attempted vaccination, the subject of the operation being a relative of his own.[1] By the year 1801 it was generally admitted that the procedure was one of great value. In May of that year the Faculty resolved, in view of the difficulty experienced in a large community such as Glasgow now was in popularizing such a measure, to advertise widely that they would vaccinate all

[1] Strang's *Glasgow Clubs*, 2nd ed., 248. This was in 1800; but an earlier case was that of a child of Dr. T. Garnett, on 30th May, 1799.

comers at their Hall in St. Enoch's Square, the operation to be performed every Monday. To undertake the work two of the members were regularly told off by rotation every month, the operators being held jointly responsible in every case. For some time their procedure was evidently cautious and tentative, and failures were not uncommon. But greater success followed in the wake of experience, as is sufficiently evident from the first Vaccination Register, which is still preserved. The method of appointing two surgeons to act conjointly was followed for twenty years. In the course of a year or two the vaccination station of the Faculty became popular and crowded beyond all expectation. So much was this the case that the Faculty made public intimation that they desired only the poor to avail themselves of the charity. In less than five years the Faculty vaccinated gratuitously ten thousand persons.[1] The fact that about a fifth of the total number had not returned after the operation pointed to an obvious abuse which required a remedy. In spite of all attempts to select the cases from the class intended to be benefited, the numbers went on increasing every year. At last the plan was hit on of exacting a small deposit from every applicant, to be returned if the case were shown on the proper day. This kept down the numbers to some extent; and this method, with trifling variations, was continued till the passing of the Vaccination Act, when the necessity of obtaining a certificate gave a sufficient guarantee for the child being brought back, and superseded the need of a deposit. At an early period of its history the station was placed in connection with the Royal Vaccine Institution in London. The early reports of the Faculty to the latter afford interesting information of the progress of vaccination in Glasgow. Thus, in 1812, we learn that the practice of vaccination in Glasgow and neighbourhood was then almost universal, and that though small-pox had been rather more prevalent in the year embraced in the report, the Faculty knew of no case in which it had occurred in a vaccinated person. In that year a sceptical surgeon in Glasgow attempted the inoculation of variolous matter in vaccinated cases. The details are not given; but a report got abroad that the virus had taken effect, and the Faculty thought it necessary to institute an investigation. The result was reassuring, and an advertisement was inserted in the newspapers with a view to quell any feelings of alarm. It stated that "the Faculty had considered the report of cases of the children recently inoculated in this place with

[1] Cleland, the Glasgow Annalist, gives the following statistics of public vaccination in Glasgow up to 1831:—

Station.	When started.	No. up to 1831.
Faculty,	1801	30,982
Cowpox Institution,	1813	6,969
Faculty of Medicine,	1828	1,446
		39,397

(*Enum. of the Inhabitants of Glasgow*, 1831, p. 22.)

small-pox matter after having some time ago been satisfactorily vaccinated." They assured the public, both from their uniform experience, and from the symptoms of the present cases, that "they remain as fully convinced as ever of the inestimable benefit of the cow-pox, and of its affording as perfect security against small-pox as the small-pox inoculation itself." As time wore on, the Faculty climbed down from this commanding position; but none the less did they express their conviction of the utility of vaccination, if not always as an absolute prophylactic, as an agent which powerfully modified the dreaded disease. In 1813 the Faculty reported that the practice of variolous inoculation had been totally abandoned[1] in Glasgow and the West of Scotland, and that the deaths from small-pox were showing a diminution. The vaccine station of the Faculty is still in operation [1896], but, from the great decrease in its numbers, owing to causes to which we need not advert, it gives indications of approaching the natural term of its existence. As far as we are aware, it is the oldest—certainly one of the oldest—vaccine stations in the three kingdoms.

But from the charity of the Faculty we must turn to its internal affairs. With the advent of the century the defects of the old charter became more apparent. Their frequent failures in prosecuting unqualified practitioners brought home to the members their need of extended powers. Their existing powers were neither ample enough, nor defined with adequate precision, and they were besides adapted to a state of affairs not now existing. In 1805 a committee was appointed to report on the subject. Their inquiries brought out that the points in which their powers were inadequate were chiefly these: The judicial procedure for prosecution was too elaborate and expensive, and the penalty exigible on conviction was ridiculously insufficient. Forty pounds Scots, especially as enhanced by the "toties quoties," might act as a deterrent to delinquents in the seventeenth century; but in the nineteenth, with the great depreciation in the value of money, such a fine had no terrors for the well-feed quack. What they perhaps would have liked was their old power of mulcting unqualified practitioners in a considerable sum after a summary procedure. But the times were now changed, and, on inquiry, they learned that a new royal charter with enlarged powers in accordance with their wishes was a mere chimera; the royal prerogative could not do in the nineteenth century what it did in the sixteenth. It was only by authority of Parliament that such powers could be obtained; and even then the difficulties in their way would be great. The legislature, they were advised, would probably now regard the prosecution of unqualified practitioners rather as a matter of public police than of corporate duty: that, while Parliament would not interfere with rights already existing, they would be chary in extending them. With

[1] Several of the older medical men of Glasgow who have deceased within the last twenty years, such as the late Dr. Andrew Buchanan, Professor of the Institutes of Medicine, were inoculated.

this advice from eminent Counsel before them, the Faculty dropped the agitation for extended powers. But in 1817 it was again revived in another form. In the House of Commons the Faculty had a warm friend in Mr. Kirkman Finlay, the City member. To that astute politician it occurred, or was suggested, that there is, after all, something in a name. If the corporation were legally christened "the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow," a point would be gained. The members, without any apparent compunction, resolved to endeavour to effect the alteration of name. The time-honoured title of "Faculty," suggestive at once of age, of associations of various kinds with learned bodies throughout the continent, and especially with its celebrated Parisian namesake, seems to have on this occasion evoked no sentiment of tenderness in the corporate bosom. With the new name they agreed to seek no new power of any importance, but simply a definition and consolidation of powers already possessed. But if by these tactics they intended to disarm opposition, they soon learned their mistake. Their petition was duly presented, and without any delay the Prince Regent's warrant was issued thereon, ordaining it to be laid before the Lord Advocate. Here it at once got into troubled waters. A *caveat* was lodged against the granting of the application by the University of Glasgow. Trenching on no right of the University, the charter might have been supposed secure from opposition in that quarter. But the moment was inopportune. Extreme irritation at this time existed between the two bodies. Two years previously the Faculty had, as will be duly narrated in a subsequent chapter, instituted an action-at-law to test the question whether University graduates had the right to practise surgery. A decision had been given in the Lower Court against the graduates, and the question was still *sub judice* on appeal. To make matters worse, the University had only recently made a new move with a view to checkmate the Faculty on this question, by instituting a new degree in surgery. With soreness on both sides, there was therefore little hope of an amicable understanding in the matter of the new charter. Committees were appointed by both parties to meet and discuss the matter. After many meetings, the points in dispute were practically narrowed to one. The University insisted on their medical graduates being allowed to practise surgery without further examination within the bounds of the Faculty. The latter body replied that they had no power to grant exemption, and that if it were accorded to one University it must be allowed to all. At that time the country was being inundated with University graduates, some of whom had obtained their degrees without any examination at all. On this point, then—their inability to delegate their examining and licensing powers to other bodies—the Faculty took their stand. It was on this rock that the scheme for a new charter and name suffered shipwreck.

The institution of the grade of country licentiate in the last century has already been noticed, and it was shown that the step was rendered

necessary by the gradual increase of the fees for membership. The nineteenth century had not long begun when a similar necessity arose, and from the same cause, for permitting licentiates to practise in the city. Up to the year 1811 Glasgow had, at least in theory, been held sacred to the members. But the membership had now become an expensive qualification. A widows' fund, as we shall afterwards see, had now been engrafted on the original foundation. This was an expensive scheme, and necessitated a large addition to the entrance fee. At the period in question the fee had reached one hundred guineas, a large portion of which went into the devouring maw of the widows' fund. To exact such a fee from every person who entered on general practice in the city was impossible. The attempt to do so had been tried for years, and with the result which might have been foreseen. Not a few preferred to run the risk of practising without any qualification rather than pay such an exorbitant exaction. It was to remedy this state of matters that the institution was made of the grade of town licentiate. For all grades of qualification—members, town or country licentiate—the examination was the same. The fee was the differential condition of admission, and it was assumed to be graduated roughly according to the privilege conferred. The fee for country licentiate was five, and that for town licentiate twenty guineas, the addition of fifteen guineas being in name of "Freedom Fine." This fee was certainly too large, being at that time probably equal to more than twice the amount now represented by the figures, in view of the comparative value of money. To avoid misconception, it was expressly stated in the body of the diploma that the licentiate had no standing as a member of corporation, or claim to the corporate property. Within a period of three years he could, however, qualify as a member by paying the balance of fee. The new grade was not popular. The fee was out of proportion to the right conferred. Up to 1820 only forty practitioners had been admitted town licentiates, and these were far from being satisfied with their position. In 1819 they presented a memorial to the Faculty setting forth their grievances. They had been under the impression, they said, that by their admission they had been virtually placed on the footing of members, except as regards the corporate property. They found, however, that they possessed none of the privileges conferred by the original charter, which the members enjoyed from immemorial usage. They were subject to public burdens from which the members were exempt. They accordingly asked that their position should be accurately defined. The reply to the memorialists was conciliatory in tone, but in their view could hardly have been satisfactory. The *Glasgow Medical Examiner* gave strong, epigrammatic expression to the dissatisfaction of the town licentiates. "Licentiates are described as a species of members who have nothing to do with the Faculty laws but to obey them, nor with the funds but to pay the fees which may be demanded from them—a species of serfs who, upon payment of a certain tribute, are permitted to exist," and

more to the same effect. That they had good cause, at all events, to grumble is beyond doubt. We shall see presently that the high exactions made as fees were required to recoup the exchequer, drained nearly dry by the omnivorous widows' fund. This scheme, indeed, cast its shadow upon most of the actings of the Faculty about this period.

Of the Faculty widows' fund the little that can here be said has mainly reference to the scheme in its bearings and reflex influence on the corporation. In reference to its origin it may be regarded, if not as the orderly development, as at least an outgrowth of the system of charity in vogue for nearly two centuries, to which occasional references have already been made. All through the Records for that period there is very frequent mention of aid being given to "the poor of the calling," to "decayed members," or their widows, children, grandchildren, or collateral relations. In the eighteenth century there was a regular pension list revised annually, which, before the institution of the widows' fund, amounted to about £100, besides sums expended in frequent casual doles. Various plans were discussed from 1779 to 1792 for placing their charity on a better footing, all pointing in the direction of a regular fund for widows and children. At last in 1792 a scheme was sanctioned, and came into operation on 8th June of that year. It scarcely lies within the scope of this sketch to advert to the widows' fund in its aspects as an insurance society. As such it was successful; but its success cannot be quoted as lending much countenance to the institution of self-sustaining Medical Widows' Fund Associations conducted on the mutual principle, such as have been repeatedly proposed during the present century. The initial capital to start the Faculty's scheme was taken from the corporate purse and never repaid. The sums thus appropriated during the first twenty-eight years of the fund amounted to £3494; and the amount paid annually by the Faculty as a sort of capitation tax during the first fifty-eight years of the fund would probably amount to a sum as large. In addition to this, at first four-fifths, and latterly two-thirds, of the entire freedom fines of entrants to the Faculty were placed to the credit of the widows' fund. What portion of the Faculty revenue, sequestrated by these grants, was contributed by the freedom fines of licentiates has not been determined. But there is little wonder that there existed much dissatisfaction amongst this class in view of the possible destination of their fees. From an insurance point of view the widows' fund had the disadvantage of not providing for the selection of lives, as it was obligatory on all members to join the fund. This disadvantage was, however, more than compensated by a class of incidents against which selection of lives could scarcely have provided, even had it been politic to do so. This was the heavy mortality prevalent almost up to the present generation among the younger members of the Faculty, as well as of the medical profession generally, in Glasgow and the other towns in the West of Scotland. The number of members cut down before their

prime, generally by typhus, remittent, or other fevers would now be regarded as phenomenal. It generally happened that these men left no claimants on the fund to which they had contributed their full quota.

As the nineteenth century advanced the entrance fee to the Faculty gradually increased. In 1850 it stood at £150 even for the lowest grade of entry to the widows' fund. The obligation to join the fund began to be looked on as an intolerable burden, and operated in greatly diminishing the number of candidates for the membership. Allegations were even made that on one or two occasions men, otherwise eligible as members of the Faculty, were denied admission at the ballot box, because they were bad lives. This may have been untrue, but it was freely admitted that the attempt to graft an insurance scheme on an institution existing chiefly for other purposes was a mistake. In 1850 an Act of Parliament was obtained mainly for the purpose of disjoining the widows' fund as compulsory on all entrants from the Faculty as a corporate body. Advantage was taken of the Act to include in it a provision for altering the name of "Member" to "Fellow"; and another, in virtue of which Fellows and Members of other Colleges, entitled to grant Diplomas in Surgery, were allowed to practise within the jurisdiction of the Faculty.[1]

Towards the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century a movement took shape in the Faculty, with a view to stem the tide of illegal practice which had begun to overflow their territory. A standing "Committee of Privileges" was formed to keep due guard over corporate rights from whatever quarter threatened or assailed. The first task of the committee was to look through the armoury and furbish up the old weapons. Some of these, they reported, were rusty enough, and probably had never been trusty blades. To test the legal strength of their position, they applied to Mr. Robert Davidson, Professor of Law, who advised them on several doubtful points. This was in 1809, and two years thereafter they commenced the campaign. First they sent a strong representation to the City magistrates, giving the reasons which had induced them for some time to decline the task of prosecuting the unqualified. But the object was a public one, and therefore the duty should be undertaken by the public prosecutor. It was the community that was chiefly interested, and should therefore bear the expense. They promised to co-operate cordially with the magistrates in the event of the latter authorizing the Procurator-Fiscal to prosecute. The magistrates were courteous, even cordial in their reply, but they declined to order the Fiscal to take up the cases, on the ground that there was no precedent for such a step. At this very period it happened that the circuit judges had their attention repeatedly called to the prevalence of unlicensed practice in Glasgow. Men appeared before them as practitioners of physic and surgery in cases of the highest importance, whose lamentable ignorance

[1] See Appendix VI.

of the arts they professed was manifest. The judges inquired into the matter, and found the reason to lie in the difficulties which nineteenth century modes of judicial procedure interposed to the effective carrying out of powers granted in the sixteenth century. The Faculty submitted to the judges their powers, chartered and parliamentary; and their Lordships, by an "Act of Adjournal," of date 24th March, 1812, "recommend to the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons to persevere in the exercise of the powers conferred by the said Royal Charter and Parliamentary Ratification; and at the same time the Court did and do enjoin and require all Sheriffs and other Magistrates, with their respective prosecutors-fiscal within the limits mentioned in the foresaid Charter and Act of Parliament, to be aiding and assisting to the Memorialists in the proper execution of the duty herein pointed out, and on due information to prosecute all persons illegally practising medicine or surgery within their respective jurisdictions in time coming."

The "Act of Adjournal" acted at once as a stimulus to the Faculty to resume the prosecution of unqualified practitioners. The second Tuesday of every month was appointed for the examination of candidates, and every man in the district who was known to be practising illicitly was summoned before the board. Those of them who satisfied the requirements were licensed, the others, being the majority, were formally inhibited from practice. Several, however, did not appear in answer to the summons, and decree passed against them in absence. One or two lodged defences, but these are devoid of any element of historic interest.

Before this series of prosecutions were ended the Faculty had become entangled in the meshes of a number of lawsuits, involving the question of their legal rights, which dragged on their slow length for a quarter of a century. At one stage of this litigation it looked as if their very corporate existence was threatened; but the narrative of this struggle we must defer to another chapter. The remainder of the present chapter will be devoted to a matter of internal policy.

During the whole of the seventeenth century the official designation of the principal office-bearer seems to have been "Visitor," the term used in the charter. Physicians and surgeons were equally eligible to the office, and we find that during the first seventy-nine years of their history it was held in all, seventeen years by physicians and sixty-two years by surgeons. In the latter half of the century there were generally two visitors with co-ordinate powers, one the head of the physicians and the other the chief of the surgeons. About the beginning of the eighteenth century it was found expedient, in order to prevent confusion, to give the physician-visitor the title of "Praeses," the simple term "Visitor" being from that time reserved for the official head of the surgeons. Gradually, also, the idea of co-ordinate authority was lost sight of. The praeses, in effect, became the chief of the corporation, whilst

the visitor, by this process, took rank as vice-president. This arrangement prevailed up to 1820, in which year the growing paucity of the grade of pure physicians rendered it inconvenient. In that year a resolution, which had been defeated eight years previously, was passed, with only one dissentient voice, throwing open the higher office to the surgeon equally with the physician, provided he had the University degree of M.D.; and a few years later surgeons without the degree were equally with physicians made eligible to the office, a rule which has remained to the present day.

CHAPTER XVIII

A LONG LAWSUIT

WITH the commencement of the century the Medical School of Glasgow may be said to have emerged from its state of infancy. Up to that period medical graduates in Glasgow and the West of Scotland were very few. In the City itself there were always two or three, or more, practising physicians; whilst the considerable towns of Ayr, Kilmarnock, and Paisley generally attracted the services of a doctor of medicine, either of home or foreign education. But the practice of these men was limited by tradition and ancient usage. The possession of a University degree was usually held to disqualify from general practice, and to elevate its holder to the serener sphere of a pure physician. Not that the physician of the last century or that preceding it was held disqualified from family practice, or limited to the duties of a consultant. Had this been the case, their number would have been smaller than it actually was. He was only disqualified in Glasgow from the practice of surgery, and, till near the end of the last or the beginning of the present century, of midwifery. But the century was not well begun when this state of matters rapidly changed. Doctors of medicine began to multiply at a rate which far outstripped the necessities of purely medical practice. It was therefore inevitable that most of them should betake themselves to the ordinary work of the general practitioner. The attainments and requirements connoted by the degrees granted in Scotland varied greatly, from a definite course of study and a fair examination, on the one hand, to a very nebulous curriculum, or even none at all, and the payment of a fee, on the other. Under conditions often so unexacting, there is little wonder that doctors of medicine rapidly increased. Several of them settled in Glasgow, and began general practice without any disguise. They believed and held that the possession of a University degree superseded the necessity of entering as members of the Faculty. If this position were good in law, it was clear to the members that their corporate occupation was gone. No one would take the trouble to

subject himself to their more exacting conditions as to examination and subsequent supervision, when he could gain admission to the profession in a way at once easier, more dignified, and untrammelled by conditions of practice.

After much deliberation and, apparently, also in face of the opposition of a small minority, it was resolved to test the question of the legality of doctors of medicine practising surgery within the jurisdiction of the Faculty. The action was raised before the Court of Session in 1815. Of the whole number whom they could have summoned, four were selected, apparently on the ground that they practised within the City, and held their diplomas from different Universities in Scotland. In the pleas lodged for the Faculty a distinction was made between the different defenders. Those of them holding degrees from the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow were recognized as possessing valid qualifications to practise in medicine only; while, as regarded the graduates of Aberdeen and St. Andrews, it was denied not only that they were entitled to practise surgery, but even to act as physicians within the Faculty's bounds. The Faculty averred (and this was apparently not denied) that neither of the two defenders who held the degree of Aberdeen or St. Andrews, had ever been examined by the respective Universities; and further, that medicine was not even taught at St. Andrews at the date at which the diploma in question was issued. The Faculty therefore declined to recognize these institutions as answering the conditions for the recognition of medical degrees laid down in the charter. Neither of them was "ane famous University where Medicine is taught." The other two defenders stood in a different position. Their diplomas were admitted to be unexceptionable: the Universities which granted them were the seats of medical schools, and the degrees had been obtained after examination. The right of these men to practise as physicians in Glasgow, after their diplomas had been inspected by the Faculty, was therefore admitted, but it was denied that they were accredited, in virtue of these diplomas, to practise surgery. This, indeed, was the *crux* of the whole matter: *Does a degree in medicine confer a right to practise surgery?* The defenders contended that surgery is simply one of the departments of medicine, and that therefore the degree in medicine covered the entire field of the practice of the healing art. Medicine really consisted of two great branches—physic and surgery. It was true that during the Middle Ages circumstances had occurred which gave rise to a temporary separation between the practitioners of these two departments. Surgery, during a part of that period, had been degraded to the position of a handicraft, and on that account physicians had refused to make themselves conversant with it. But the division was now healed; surgery had taken its legitimate place in the science and art of medicine. The physician had resumed his inalienable right to practise the whole round of medicine. Especially in Glasgow had

the distinction between the practice of surgery and that of medicine been obliterated. The military surgeon of the district was Dr. Freer, Professor of Medicine in the University. Further, the powers conferred by the degree, as expressed on the face of the diploma attesting it, were ample, and limited neither by territorial nor any other bounds. The degree licensed to practise every branch of medicine everywhere, "*omnes tam theoriae medicinae quam praxeos actus ubique terrarum exercendi.*"

Neither this plea, nor that impugning the right of the Faculty to plead owing to an alleged defect in their constitution, was put in so forcible and masterly a way as it was presented later in the case of the University *versus* the Faculty, and it will be more convenient to state this part of the argument and the Faculty's reply thereto when we come to that case. In this place it will suffice to say that the Faculty urged that it was useless to appeal to scientific definitions of medicine, in view of the fact that in ancient charters the term was not used in a general, but in a specific sense. In these documents, "medicine" and "surgery" were obviously used as distinctive terms excluding each other, and the same distinction occurred in every country in which medical degrees were granted. Besides, the examination for a medical degree was not adapted to be a test of surgical knowledge and skill. There was not a University in Scotland in which a single question was put at the degree examination on any part of surgery. And, further, the Faculty's commission under their charter, "to examine all persons professing or using the said art of Chirurgery," was absolute, recognizing no exceptions.

On this last point the legal decision hinged. In November, 1815, the Lord Ordinary decided that the Faculty had a legal title to sue; that the defenders were all entitled to practise as physicians within the bounds of the Faculty, but no person could therein practise surgery or carry on the business of an apothecary without submitting to the Faculty's examination. The case was appealed by the defenders, but, after a litigation of four years, the decision appealed against was confirmed. The Faculty's special objections to either Aberdeen or St. Andrews being considered as "famous Universities where medicine is taught" were brushed aside almost without remark. The power of granting medical degrees, said the judges, was committed to all the Universities, and they declined to inquire under what conditions the power was exercised. But a minority of the judges was in favour of the claim of the graduates. The decision did not cover the whole ground taken in by the pleadings. It did not settle the question whether a doctor's degree entitled to practise surgery. What the case did decide was that the degrees in question did not so qualify within the bounds of the Faculty. But in giving their decision some of the judges incidentally enunciated opinions adverse to the claim that a degree in medicine gave a right to practise surgery.

Soon after a provisional decision in the case had been given by the Lord Ordinary, and several years before the question was finally settled on appeal, a step was taken by the University of Glasgow which introduced a new feature into the struggle. Hitherto that body had not been a party in the litigation. The graduates alone had borne the brunt of the battle. But it was evidently a struggle in the issue of which the University was deeply interested. It bore directly on the success of the institution both as a teaching and an examining body. Its resources to meet the turn affairs appeared to be taking in the law courts were ample. It seemed to be good law that a doctor of medicine could only practise physic. If to practise surgery required a special qualification, why should not the University institute a surgical degree? It is said that the credit for this adroit proposal was due to Dr. John Burns, recently appointed the first Professor of Surgery in the University. There was no precedent for such a degree in any of the British Universities; but an academic *Testamur* in surgery was not unknown in some of the continental Universities. Surgery had now emerged from its position as a handicraft and ranged itself side by side with medicine as a science as well as an art. There was therefore nothing incongruous in placing upon it the University *imprimatur*. Accordingly, in the year 1816, it was officially announced that the University of Glasgow had resolved to add to its list of degrees that of Chirurgiae Magister (C.M.).[1] The new degree was never very popular, and no very large numbers of men were attracted by it. The title appeared new-fangled and odd; the thing was an innovation; and, more than all, doubts must probably have existed of its legal validity for practice, especially in the West of Scotland. The Faculty appear to have been in no haste to test this question. Though some kind of action appears to have been taken in 1819, it was not till the degree had been granted for ten years that they resolved to challenge it. At that time there were practising in Glasgow and the four Western Counties twenty-three persons in virtue of their holding the "C.M." of Glasgow. Against the whole of these the Faculty in 1826 raised an action of suspension and interdict, first before the Lord Ordinary and, on his reference, in the Second Division of the Court of Session. They claimed that these persons be prohibited from practice till they had been examined by the Faculty. The case was ripe for decision when the University came into Court by an action of Declarator against the Faculty, asking the Court to find that persons holding the degree of C.M. were entitled to practise surgery within the Faculty's territorial bounds. The two cases were conjoined, it being arranged for convenience that the University should be called the "Pursuers." Briefly put, their contention was this: That as a University they were entitled to teach

[1] The degree of Bachelor of Surgery was also instituted, but it did not make good its footing, and in a year or two was discontinued.

any branch or subject of human knowledge; and that co-extensive with the faculty of teaching was the co-relative power of examining and granting degrees, and further, that these degrees qualified for practising all that in practice was connected with the subject taught. But irrespective of this power inherent in the University simply as such, they had ample powers articulately expressed from their incorporating charters. The Bull of Nicholas V. empowered them to grant degrees in theology, canon and civil law, "*et quâvis aliâ licitâ facultate*,"—a commission wide enough to cover surgery. True, there was no "Faculty" of Surgery, but this was included in the Faculty of Medicine. A degree did not require to cover the whole field occupied by a Faculty. For example, there were degrees of canon law, of civil law, of music, grammar, etc. A degree was simply a testimonial that the person to whom it was granted was sufficiently versed in the department of learning to which it referred. The surgical degree was in conformity with academic usage. The dissociation of surgery from the University Schools of Medicine in the Middle Ages had been only partial. Through all that period there had been gown-surgeons (medico-chirurgici) who studied at the Universities, as distinguished from the barber-surgeons who did not. In France it was admitted the Universities had handed over surgery entirely to the latter class. But in Italy it was different; gown-surgeons were there the rule, and the degree of *Chirurgiae Magister* was not uncommon. This precedent from the Italian Universities was especially important as regarded Glasgow, because it was on the model of the Uuiversity of Bologna that the Bull of Nicholas V. founded the University of Glasgow. A University degree was exempt from any limitation of territorial bounds, and as far as it gave a right to practise that right was good anywhere. A University was an institution *juris gentium*, and by the courtesy of nations respected all over the world. The University of Glasgow was founded one hundred and fifty years before the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of that City. From the first it possessed the power of granting a degree in surgery whenever it chose to exercise that power. It could not have been the intention of James VI., in granting the charter of the Faculty, to derogate from the privilege of the University by constituting the Faculty with a superior exclusive jurisdiction entitling them to debar University graduates from practice. If the University *Testamur* in medicine was valid for the practice of physic, there was no reason to deny the validity of the corresponding certificate in surgery.

The question of the power of the Faculty to sue, as being a legally constituted corporation, had been raised by the graduates before the Faculty came into the field. This point was now practically departed from, whether from the belief that it would be futile to insist on it, or from reliance on the strength of their case independent of it, does not appear. Later on, as we shall presently find, the question again came to the forefront of the case.

The main line of the defence of the Faculty was historical, and centred round the facts of their origin and constitution. They pointed out that at the period of the charter, surgery, having long before suffered disruption from medicine, was regarded as a trade, and the surgeon as merely a manual operator, this being indeed etymologically implied by the name. Even to this day, it was urged, the practitioners of the two arts stood in a different position in the eye of the law. The physician could receive an honorarium, but could not sue for a fee; the surgeon, on the contrary, could bring an action for his bill in a court of law. The terms of the Faculty charter were in themselves sufficiently conclusive as to the technical distinction between medicine and surgery at the time it was granted. The conditions for practising the two arts were different. To qualify in medicine, the testimonial of a University was required; whereas to practise surgery within the territory allotted to them, an examination and license by the defenders were necessary. Their commission to examine everyone practising surgery within these bounds was absolute, there being no exceptions. Graduates of surgery of a University—assuming the academical validity of the degree—were equally excluded from this practice as graduates in medicine. This privilege had been confirmed by unbroken usage from 1602 downwards, and had been vindicated times out of number against defaulters. Turning to the claims of the University, they adverted to their sweeping character. If these were found to be valid in Glasgow, they would be equally good everywhere. They would override the privileges from charters or statutes of every medical corporation in the kingdom. Coming to closer quarters, they argued that University degrees were not at all of the nature of licenses to practise. They were honorary titles, academic distinctions, conferring on those who bore them a certain character; but carrying with them no professional privilege in the way of practice. They might confer reputation, or even heraldic precedence, but they invested their possessor with no civil right. In view of the purely honorary character of degrees, could it be pretended that graduates had the right to practise co-ordinately with the members of the chartered corporation within a jurisdiction defined by charter? The recognition of such a right would extinguish every corporate body in the kingdom. On the same principle a doctor of divinity might mount any pulpit in the kingdom without license or ordination; or a doctor of law might, without "call," practise at any bar. The attempts made by University graduates in England to trench on the chartered privileges of the College of Physicians of London had been repeatedly repelled by the English courts. Coming down from the arguments centring round legal right to those dealing with expediency, it was urged that surgery was largely a practical art. It was therefore more becoming that the door of admission to exercise it should be guarded by those engaged in the practice of the art, rather than that door should be thrown open by the degree of a literary body.

Such was the main line of argument; but there were side arguments, much less effective, to which we need not allude. On both sides there was a copious appeal to authorities, and the literature of medical history had evidently boen ransacked to furnish or furbish weapons. When the case was reported for decision, the Court, in view of its great importance, and as involving new questions of law, directed the case to be laid before the Lords of the First Division and the Lords Ordinary, with a view to their joint opinion being obtained on the main question involved. The decision, given after full debate and long delay, was entirely in favour of the defenders, *i.e.* the Faculty. They were found to be a legal corporation; to have power to debar from the practice of surgery in their district persons whom they had not examined and found qualified; and neither the degree of doctor of medicine nor master of surgery gave any title to exemption from the operation of the Faculty's charter. Among the consulted judges there was only one dissentient. Lord Moncrieff had exalted notions of the powers of an University. He was of opinion that paramount authority was invested in an University, in virtue of which graduates had co-ordinate, if not superior, privileges to that of the members of a medical corporation. On the opinions of the consulted judges being reported, the Second Division found in favour of the Faculty, and judgment was accordingly pronounced, by which masters in surgery were laid under perpetual interdict from practising within the bounds. The Faculty were found entitled to expenses, both from the University and the masters in surgery implicated in the case.

But there was still a final court of appeal, and to the House of Lords the case was now carried. When it came before that tribunal at Westminster a change was effected in the mode of attack. In the lower courts the University had declined to insist on a plea which the graduates had urged before the University appeared in the case. That plea was now revived. It was contended that the Faculty was not a corporation, and therefore could not maintain this or any similar action. Though this point had been disposed of in the decision of the Court of Session, and that decision had been acquiesced in by the University, it was urged that it had not there received adequate attention in the pleading. The Counsel for the University laid great stress on this preliminary argument, and made a strong impression on the mind of Lord-Chancellor Brougham. To the volatile and versatile chancellor, the charter of the Faculty appeared an amorphous and incomprehensible document. He could find in it no reproductive organs, no method of election or of adding to the original founders, so as to continue the body-corporate. It was a mystery to him who were the successors of the original grantees, Lowe and Hamilton. "What do you mean," said the bewildered Chancellor, "by the successors of Sir Henry Halford or Dr. Baillie?" [physicians to the King]. Further, the provisions of a charter granted by a Scottish monarch in the sixteenth century appeared to him

an astounding stretch of prerogative. "Here is a letter," said he, "from King James VI., under the Privy Seal, which you choose to construe a charter, which is a letter agreed on all hands to have been written to the Privy Seal, and in which King James VI. assumes to himself the power which I never heard any king had before, of making his Surgeon and a Doctor of Physic a Corporation; and it speaks to their 'successors,' and in another part to their 'brethren' without telling you who they are, and it gives them large and extensive powers . . . extending over Renfrewshire, Lanarkshire, and about half Scotland, and giving them power which they have no more right to confer upon others than I have to confer upon Mr. Currie at the table." This was a novel point of view; but the main question raised being one pertaining to Scots law, the case was sent back to the Second Division of the Court of Session. The opinion of the whole of the judges was to be taken whether the Faculty were a corporation clothed with the rights which they claimed in this action.

When this question was debated in the Edinburgh Parliament House, it was contended by the University that one of the essentials for constituting a body corporate was awanting in the charter—a special name or title. Another alleged fatal omission was that of "incorporating words" in the document. The power to enact bye-laws was alleged to be doubtful. The provisions of the charter involved an illegal stretch of prerogative. The taking out of a municipal charter—the "Seal of Cause"—in 1656 was an acknowledgment that up to that date the members were unincorporated. The renunciation of that civic charter in 1722 necessarily ended the corporation. These and arguments of a more technical kind were urged, but they made no impression on the consulted judges. The Court saw at once that the Lord-Chancellor's doubts were caused by his looking at a Scottish charter with the eye of an English lawyer. They held that the absence of a special name and of incorporating words was of no moment. As to a name, the christening of a corporation might be necessary in England: in Scotland, nothing was requisite but a grant from a competent authority. The judges pointed out what were the provisions for perpetuating the body, and that these were expressed in the usual and appropriate style of the period. After a review of the history of the Faculty from its origin, the Court unanimously gave it as their opinion "that few cases have occurred, if, indeed, any one, in which the possession of corporation privileges for nearly two centuries and a half had been proved by such overwhelming evidence": and decision was given in accordance with this opinion. The judges further stated "that they felt somewhat astonished at this remit to take the opinion of the whole Court on a point on which there then lay on the table of the House of Lords an opinion already obtained from the whole Court, of the most full, minute, and comprehensive character."

On being taken back to the House of Lords, endorsed with this decision,

expressed in a way as if meant for a slap on the face to the Chancellor, the preliminary ground was completely cleared, and the case was debated at great length on its merits in 1838; but it was not till the 7th August, 1840, that the final decision was given. It was in these words: "It is ordered and adjudged by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled that the said Petition and Appeal be, and is hereby dismissed the House; and that the said Interlocutors therein complained of be, and the same are hereby affirmed." The costs followed the decision.

So ended this *cause célèbre*, after dragging on its weary length through the law courts for fourteen years. Though the Faculty gained the suit, the real loss was not all on the other side. The contest, indeed, was one which both parties had good reason to deplore. We have traced its origin almost to the first decade of the present century. The immediate result, on the one side, was the exclusion of University professors from the higher offices of the Faculty; while, on the other, reprisals were made in several ways, such as in wrecking Mr. Kirkman Finlay's well-meant efforts for the welfare of the Faculty.[1] For half a century, indeed, this lawsuit cast a chilling blight on the relations of two neighbours under obligation to live together in peace and harmony, as they were working separately for a common end. "*Tanta est discordia fratrum!*" "*Tantaene animis coelestibus irae?*"

[1] P. 156.

CHAPTER XIX

THE GLASGOW MEDICAL SCHOOL (CONTINUED)[1]

DURING the eighteenth century, in the middle of which it took its rise, we have seen that the Glasgow Medical School was associated almost entirely with the University. Cullen, it is true, inaugurated his brilliant career by lecturing in his first year outside the University, and occasional courses were given on special branches, such as those on midwifery, by Mr. James Muir in 1759, and Mr. James Monteath in 1778. But these were intermittent and exceptional; the regular systematic teaching was intramural. With the advent of the nineteenth century there began a great expansion of medical teaching in Glasgow. All that had been wanting to give the necessary stimulus was the institution of a good general hospital. The Royal Infirmary was opened for patients in 1794, and shortly after there was a considerable increase in the number of medical students attending the University. In the course of a decade the numbers went up by leaps and bounds, and overflowed into the rooms of several private lecturers. It would, however, be wrong to credit this enormous increase entirely, or even perhaps mainly, to the enchanced reputation of the Glasgow School or its improved facilities for medical teaching. The Medical School of the University was still very incomplete. During the first fourteen years of the century, when the number of students was increasing at an astonishing rate, it had no professor of surgery or of midwifery, not to mention subjects of less importance. Students who wished to attend regular classes on these subjects had to seek for them outside the College. To a very considerable extent the prosperity of the School was due to the great demand for army surgeons, created by the long-continued continental wars in which the forces of Britain took so prominent a share. This demand appears to have tasked to the full the resources of the whole of the medical schools of the country. Add to this that Glasgow had already begun the era in which her population has increased at a phenomenal rate; that the West of Scotland was also becoming

[1] From Chapter XIV.

rapidly more populous, and that the want of facilities for medical education in Ulster brought over to Glasgow a large number of Irish students. The following table shows the number of students enrolled in the anatomy class of the University from 1790 to 1861:

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS OF ANATOMY, 1790–1861.

YEAR.	NUMBER OF STUDENTS.	YEAR.	NUMBER OF STUDENTS.	YEAR.	NUMBER OF STUDENTS.	YEAR.	NUMBER OF STUDENTS.
1790	54	1808	199	1826	244	1844	74
1791	60	1809	208	1827	245	1845	59
1792	70	1810	232	1828	242	1846	71
1793	64	1811	259	1829	212	1847	67
1794	66	1812	280	1830	167	1848	117
1795	82	1813	352	1831	187	1849	133
1796	96	1814	254	1832	187	1850	130
1797	85	1815	166	1833	187	1851	130
1798	110	1816	140	1834	115	1852	134
1799	115	1817	164	1835	119	1853	142
1800	113	1818	200	1836	97	1854	132
1801	102	1819	215	1837	87	1855	174
1802	98	1820	162	1838	76	1856	198
1803	91	1821	204	1839	80	1857	195
1804	101	1822	186	1840	61	1858	205
1805	144	1823	199	1841	70	1859	240
1806	177	1824	265	1842	49	1860	256
1807	170	1825	277	1843	65	1861	166

These statistics were made up by the late Professor Allen Thomson from the books of his predecessor and his own. We are indebted to Professor George Buchanan for a copy of them. (See Address by him, *Glasgow Medical Journal*, Nov. 1871.)

It is not difficult from these figures to trace the operation of outside causes on the numerical progress of the school. They bring into strong relief the enormous demand for medical men from 1804 to 1814, the crucial period of the great French war. The culminating point was reached in 1813—that is, the session 1813-14. After the battle of Waterloo there is a sudden slackening of the demand. In the fifties there is a renewed increase, probably to some extent influenced by the long agitation for medical reform and the fear of more exacting regulations which marked that decade, eventuating in the Medical Act of 1858. It must also be borne in mind in reading these figures that from 1797 on to about 1828 there was an unattached group of private lecturers under the general name of the College Street School, some of whom, such as Allan Burns, and Granville Sharp Pattison, attracted to their dissecting rooms large numbers of students; that

from the beginning of the century onwards Anderson's University taught anatomy with steadily increasing numbers of students till about the 'forties, when its numbers almost doubled those of the old College, the University class being temporarily on the wane; and that from 1830 to 1844 the Portland Street School existed, with numbers less indeed than those of the Andersonian, but still with a creditable *clientèle* of students. The gradual decline of the University students of anatomy from 1834 to 1847 was, no doubt, due to the failing health and energies of the venerable professor of that subject, and to its being handicapped in this respect by its two formidable rivals. The advent of a new and brilliant professor of anatomy in the University in 1848 is signalized by the sudden bound of the numbers upwards, the increase being steadily maintained in future years.

Leaving the figures to speak for themselves, when read in view of those considerations, a glance down the roll of teachers in Glasgow University[1] during the period under review will show that the school was, on the whole, fortunate in attracting the services of several men eminent as teachers or as investigators, and one or two in both fields. The long incumbency of Dr. John Burns, of the Chair of Surgery (1815-50), was of much advantage to the University. During his not very extended career as a teacher of anatomy he had earned the reputation of being an able expounder of that science. This reputation went with him to the Chair of Surgery, and added to that which he further acquired, of being, through his works on the subject, the most popular expounder of midwifery in his day, was the means of attracting students from a distance. As a man who combined strength of character with great suavity of manner, as much as for his lucidity as a teacher, he survives in the memory of a very few old pupils. The long tenure of office of Dr. James Jeffray, the Professor of Anatomy (1790-1848), was of less advantage to the University School, owing to the failure of health and physical energy which marked his later years.[2] Than his suecessor, Dr. Allen Thomson, probably no one did more for the prosperity of the school, his services as a teacher being in keeping with his lustre as a man of science. Chemistry is a subject in the investigation and expounding of which Glasgow has been exceptionally strong. As we shall presently see, the extramural school was very fortunate in their teachers of chemistry. Within the University the department was represented for a generation by a man of profound knowledge of the subject and of European reputation as a chemist—Dr. Thomas Thomson. In the department of Botany three successive teachers such as Dr. Robert Graham, Sir William Joseph Hooker, and Dr. John Hutton Balfour are not often

[1] See p. 185.

[2] Dr. Jeffray was ably assisted by Dr. Thomas Marshall, his nephew, who acted as his demonstrator, and who gained considerable repute in Scotland as a lithotomist.

met with. The mention of the names of this trio recalls the fact that they were all translated to other spheres of labour—the first- and last-named to Edinburgh, and Sir William Hooker to the gardens at Kew. The tendency of good Glasgow men to gravitate to other centres has been seen in operation as regards some of the founders of the Glasgow School in the eighteenth century. It has been to some extent operative in the present century, as shown in the translation to Edinburgh of Mr. (now Sir Joseph) Lister, Dr. Alexander Dickson, and Dr. Bayley Balfour, in addition to the three above-named. A counter-movement to this was to have taken place in 1833, when Dr. Robert Lee, a London specialist of some name, was appointed to the Chair of Midwifery. He seems, however, to have changed his mind, as, though formally inducted by the Senate, he never entered on duty; but his name occurs in the Calendar list of past professors.

Did space permit, something might be said as to the exercise of patronage to the Crown Chairs in Glasgow during the first third of the century. To a considerable extent it seems to have been either exercised or influenced by the Duke of Montrose, Chancellor of the University. It was occasionally subjected, and not without adequate reason, to the most unsparing criticism. This was especially the case in the presentation to the Chair of Medicine, in 1827, of Dr. Charles Badham, when what may be described as quite an explosion of indignation occurred. The event may be said to have justified to a considerable extent the commotion it caused. A man of classical erudition, and an elegant lecturer, it was complained of him that his prelections were academic in the secondary and questionable sense of having little relation to practice. It was averred, indeed, that they were often devoted to subjects more allied to the *belles lettres* than either the theory[1] or the practice of physic. For a few years he taught, or was understood to teach, both these departments; but eventually, by some arrangement, the subject of the theory or institutes of medicine was handed over to be taught by Dr. Harry Rainy. This continued for seven years, and it was certainly somewhat hard measure for the latter when, on the institution of the Chair in that subject in 1839, such a competent teacher found himself ousted from his position, though the appointment of Dr. Andrew Buchanan to the post involved an important accession to the ranks of men of mark in the professoriate. In the same year a Chair of Forensic Medicine was founded, the first incumbent of which was Dr. Robert Cowan, a man of great promise, who had already made his mark in the fields of vital statistics and epidemiology. His premature death, after only two years of office, left a vacancy, which was filled up by the appointment of Dr.

[1] The Theory of Medicine included the subjects now connoted by the terms Physiology, Pathology, and Preventive Medicine.

Rainy, who was thus in some measure compensated for the loss of the Chair of Physiology, and who worthily filled the position for upwards of thirty years.

Our limits forbid us to notice other changes; but, before turning from the University to the extramural school, it may not be out of place to advert for a moment to the policy adopted and persisted in by the Senate of the University, down even to the present generation, of ignoring, for graduation purposes, systematic medical instruction given in Glasgow outside the College. That the policy was narrow, short-sighted, and detrimental to the best interests of the University is now acknowledged on all hands. Hence it resulted that the wholesome competition, which in the Edinburgh school gave such a stimulus to individual professorial excellence, and permitted to the student a proper alternative to his attending the prelections of a dull or an indolent professor, was awanting in Glasgow. The oddity of a body whose medical members had, individually, been mostly teachers in non-University schools, and owed their position to that very fact, systematically treating their old colleagues as virtually incompetent teachers, seems to have struck the public more forcibly than it did the learned professors. The wonder grew when it was seen that not even the promulgation of extremely radical and liberal opinions on the subject, on the part of an outside lecturer, failed to avert the inevitable metamorphosis of judgment which ensued as soon as he had attained the coveted professorship. It is consolatory to reflect that the mistake then made can never again recur; and there is now no danger that the feeling underlying it may find other modes of manifestation.

To one momentous departure made by the University in 1816 in regard to the granting of degrees, reference has been made in another connection in the immediately preceding chapter.[1] This was the institution by the University of a new degree, that of *Chirurgiae Magister*. At the time it was only a single move in a game in which the University and the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons were the two players. Though the move did not serve its immediate purpose, the Faculty having been able to checkmate it by an appeal to law, and though the success of the scheme, as measured by the number of those who availed themselves of the new degree, was not great, it gave rise, or pointed the way, to a most important change half a century later. It was the institution of this degree as an accomplished fact which virtually enabled the Scottish University Commissioners, under the Universities Act of 1858, to extend the degree and validate it in all the Scottish Universities. It was natural that such a departure from the established medical policy of this country should be strongly contested. The medical corporations of Scotland joined with the Royal Colleges of Surgeons of England and of Ireland in opposition, which they carried to the Privy

[1] P. 165.

Council.[1] Round the step taken by the University of Glasgow in 1816 the controversy raged. The legal validity of that step; the inherent power of an University to grant such a degree; the fitness of surgery to be hall-marked by a separate academic *testamur*; the history and evolution of surgical degrees on the continent, especially in Italy, and their relation to the masterships of the corporations of surgeons there: on these and kindred topics the discussions of 1861 shed a fierce light. The movement initiated in 1816, though not successful in respect to its immediate object, must be regarded in a very different light if we trace it as culminating in the institution of a degree in surgery in all the Universities of Scotland.

To another matter we must also briefly refer in this place, as it equally concerned the University school of which we have spoken and the extra-mural schools of which we are about to speak. The question of the mode in which the necessities of a large anatomical school, such as existed in Glasgow for a quarter of a century before the passing of the Anatomy Act, were supplied, is inevitably suggested by the statistics given above, and those to be stated in connection with the outside schools. The number of students studying anatomy in Glasgow about the year 1814 has been estimated as about 800.[2] For the use of such a number almost the only legalized means of obtaining subjects was by voluntary contract with relatives, from which source there would probably be almost no supply; and by claiming the victims of the gallows, the supply from which source was, as need not be said, wholly inadequate.[3] This raises the question whether there is any evidence that there existed a lack of *matériel* for the supply of the Glasgow dissecting rooms in the first third of the century. At a meeting of the medical profession held in London in 1826, in reference to a reform of the College of Surgeons, Mr. (afterwards Sir) William Lawrence said: "But, gentlemen, I have a more material objection to state, and it is to the catalogue of the schools of instruction to which the privilege of recognition has been conceded—Aberdeen, Glasgow! We know, gentlemen, that at least anatomy cannot be studied in these places with any hope of success. We are all, I believe, aware, and no one is more ready than myself to acknowledge the great talents and acquirements of the gentlemen at the head of the anatomical schools in these places; but we are also aware that they are destitute of *subjects*." This statement so definitely made at once provoked a denial from persons in Glasgow who had evidently an intimate knowledge of the facts. It was averred that so far from Mr. Lawrence's assertion being true, the supply in Glasgow

[1] *Report of Proceedings before a Committee of the Privy Council relative to the Ordinances of the Scottish Universities Commissioners.* Edinburgh, 1861.

[2] *Lancet*, IX. 839.

[3] From 1765 to 1830 the total number executed in Glasgow was 89.

was better and very much cheaper than in Edinburgh, and even London itself. One correspondent of the *Lancet*, taking a retrospect within his own experience, stated that in 1814, though the total number studying anatomy was not less than 800, he never knew a student obliged to wait for longer than three or four days before he could be provided for dissection, whereas in London it was a common experience to wait a month. He also stated from his own knowledge that in 1816 and 1817 Dr. Barclay's dissecting room in Edinburgh was supplied in great measure from that of Mr. Granville Sharp Pattison in Glasgow. These statements remained unchallenged, and we may therefore assume that even at the period when the dissecting rooms were most crowded, there existed in Glasgow no lack of anatomical material. There is no doubt that a varying amount of this supply was afforded by an irregular traffic with Ireland, ghastly glimpses into which, through misadventure or inadvertence, occasionally shocked a portion of the public.[1]

The remaining source of supply was the illegitimate one of clandestine exhumation. It is very difficult now to form any proper estimate of the extent of "resurrectionism" in Glasgow and the surrounding district. Most, if not all, of those who, as students, profited by or took part in it, have departed, and few of them knew much beyond the doings of their own coteries.[2] This method of supply never received any official sanction, nor, indeed, in theory, anything but official reprobation. The system of allowing the probably inconsiderable number of students who personally took part in the work free tickets to the dissecting room was the nearest approach to official cognizance. We have already given an extract from the Faculty Records of the eighteenth century, in which the practice is very strongly condemned,[3] and similar Minutes of an earlier and later date could be quoted. In reading these, the suspicion may, indeed, arise that the members protested too much, and that the intensity of their abhorrence was not always in direct ratio to the vigour of their fulminations. As early as 1749 there was a riot in the town, arising from a mere suspicion that one of the City graveyards had been violated. The military were called out, but not before the most of the College windows had been smashed. A similar *émeute* occurred in 1814, on which occasion some students were tried and acquitted for want of evidence. As time went on, members of the profession were at last driven into the position of appearing as apologists of the practice. A licentiate of the Faculty, Dr. Mathie Hamilton, in 1824 published, under the pseudonym "Aliquis," a pamphlet entitled, *Remarks on the Question, Are there any circumstances in which the lifting of the dead is justifiable?* in which he vigorously advocated the affirmative.

[1] Mackenzie's *Reminiscences of Glasgow*, II. 473.

[2] For some information on the point, see an article by Dr. Geo. Buchanan in the *Glasgow Medical Journal*, January, 1855, 385; Mackenzie's *Reminiscences of Glasgow*, II. 476, *et seq.*; *Lancet*, X. 184.

[3] P. 127.

In the same year there also appeared in Glasgow, from the pen of Dr. William Mackenzie, at that time teacher of anatomy and surgery in Anderson's University, one of the ablest and most powerful presentations of the case for providing by legal enactment for the wants of the medical schools.[1] He strongly insisted on the absolute dependence of the healing art on anatomy, and pointed out that the only alternative to affording legalized facilities for practising operations on the dead subject was practice on the bodies of the living poor. "Would to God," he exclaimed, "that the eyes of the public were opened to the consequences of their idolatry of the dead! They would then spurn with contempt the plans of those ignorant men who have vapoured over the midnight bowl that they would put an end to anatomy, blind to the widely disastrous effects which their plans, if carried out, must speedily produce in the best and dearest interests of humanity." He proceeded to sketch a scheme not essentially different from that afterwards given effect to in Warburton's Anatomy Act. Dr. Mackenzie's "Appeal" created some sensation at the time, and in subsequent discussions on the subject it was often referred to. But it was not till the public were thoroughly alarmed by the terrible Edinburgh disclosures a few years later that the clamant necessity for legislative enactment was generally acquiesced in.

It is now time that we should turn to the origin and early history of extra-University teaching in Glasgow. In 1796 Mr. John Burns, son of the minister of the Barony Parish of Glasgow, was admitted to the membership of the Faculty when he was little more than twenty-one years of age. In 1797 he rented rooms at the north-west corner of the head of Virginia Street for the teaching of anatomy, to which was afterwards added surgery, and eventually midwifery, and other subjects. Though so young, he at once proved himself an accomplished teacher, and his rooms were soon well attended. In the course of a year his brother Allan, a youth not much over sixteen, who had studied medicine for two years, joined him, and was soon installed in charge of the dissecting room. The latter threw himself into the work with such rare zest and enthusiasm that he soon made for himself a reputation as a practical anatomist. In 1799 John Burns was taken under the wing of an institution which had been founded in Glasgow some three years earlier, and in which, by the will of Dr. John Anderson, F.R.S., the founder, he had been designated as first Professor of Anatomy and the Theory of Surgery. Dr. Anderson was himself Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University, and the will, in virtue of which "Anderson's University" took its origin, was in several respects a remarkable document. Never probably was there an instance of wider disparity between the magnificence of the intentions of the founder of an institution and the narrowness of the means left to carry them into effect. The institution was to be a

[1] *An Appeal to the Public and to the Legislature on the necessity of affording dead bodies to the Schools of Anatomy by legislative enactment.* Glasgow, 1824.

University, not in name only, but in fact, and of a type more advanced than any then existing academic foundation. It was to be governed by eighty-one Trustees, nine in each of the nine classes—tradesmen, agriculturists, artists, manufacturers or merchants, mediciners, lawyers, divines, natural philosophers, and kinsmen of the founder. It was to consist of four colleges —arts, medicine, law, and theology—and each college was to contain nine professors. In each of the colleges, or faculties, degrees were to be granted—Bachelor and Master of Arts, Bachelor and Doctor of Medicine, Bachelor and Doctor of Law, and Bachelor and Doctor of Divinity. As regards the validity of the degrees, the testator avowedly went on the cynical principle that they could be taken for what they were worth, "valeant quantum valere possunt." The whole of the thirty-six first incumbents of the chairs were named in the Will. The nine professorships in arts were physics, ethics, logic and rhetoric, Greek, senior Latin, junior Latin, civil history, mathematics, and chemistry; the law chairs were Roman law, law of Scotland, English law, law of nations and nature, Roman antiquities, Scottish antiquities, ecclesiastical law, commercial law, and the practice of the Scottish Courts—a list which involves a pretty comprehensive connotation of the term "law." The subjects of the theological faculty were, systematic Divinity according to the Church of Scotland, critical explanation of the Scriptures, Church history, Oriental languages, the Burgher system of Divinity, the Anti-burgher system, the Relief system, the Gaelic language, and sacred music—a mode of solution of the question of the theological chairs, the principle of which would probably not commend itself to the present Scottish Universities Commission. The medical professorships, with the persons designated as the first incumbents, were—(1) Dr. Peter Wright, Institutes of Medicine; (2) Mr. James Monteath, Practice of Medicine; (3) Mr. John Burns, Anatomy and the Theory of Surgery; (4) Mr. Peter Rolland, Practical Surgery; (5) Mr. William Anderson, Obstetrics; (6) Dr. John Balmanno, Materia Medica; (7) Mr. John Scruton, "Professor of Clinical Cases"; (8) Mr. Robert Cowan, Botany; (9) Mr. David Ure, preacher of the Gospel, Natural History. The last-named was the author of the *History of Rutherglen and East Kilbride*, published in 1793. The other eight were members of the Faculty, though in two cases their technical qualifications for the particular offices to which they were designated might be challenged from the stand-point of the present day. Thus, Mr. James Monteath, appointed Professor of the Practice of Medicine, was, at the date of the Will, and a dozen years thereafter, a surgeon in general practice, though he eventually took a degree in medicine; while nearly the same description held good of Mr. John Scruton, designated to be "Professor of Clinical Cases," by which it is presumed "medical cases" were meant, there being another professor named for practical surgery, who never possessed any qualification but the surgical membership.

In judging of this scheme of a new University apart from the men and

the means of carrying it into operation, one must not forget its ideal character. Dr. Anderson had before him no counterpart in fact of a foundation on these lines. Viewed thus, it cannot be denied that in some respects at least it was in advance of anything then founded, and that it anticipated by several years the foundation of chairs on certain special subjects, the scientific teaching of women, and the popularization of science by lectures. The grouping of the subjects betokens a kind of fantastic desire for symmetry, which also oddly peeps out in his fixing his quarterly meetings on astronomical dates, the summer and the winter solstice, and the vernal and the autumn equinox. It would appear as if, having fixed the number of subjects in the Faculty of Arts, the subjects of the other colleges were made to correspond by numerical equipoise, though in some cases their connection with the department in which they are placed is somewhat far-fetched. Some of the disciplinary provisions of the will were so expressed as to serve the double purpose of regulating his institution, and administering a kick to his old University colleagues. Dr. Anderson was a good hater, and did not conceal his feelings. Before the date of the will he had been greatly exasperated at the loss of a lawsuit against the University concerning money matters. "The professors of this University," so ran the will, "shall not be permitted, as in some other colleges, to be drones or triflers, drunkards, or negligent of their duty in any manner of way." The most minute provisions are made that no person connected with the University of Glasgow, even in the position of a servant, or an instrument-maker, was to be connected in any way with the new institution. By this means he hoped that "the almost constant intrigues which prevail in the Faculty of Glasgow College, about their revenue, and the nomination of professors, and their acts of vanity or power, influenced by a collegiate life, will be kept out of Anderson's University, and the irregularities and neglect of duty in the professors of Glasgow College will be corrected by a rival school of education."

Such were some of the leading provisions of the will of Dr. John Anderson, which was not published in full for many years after his death, the Managers, it was averred, acting in this way under legal advice, in case an action at law might lie against them for the publication of some of its pithy passages.

The only provision of this magnificent scheme, which the funds available—about £1000—allowed the Trustees to inaugurate forthwith, was that having reference to the "Physical Lectures." The first lecturer was Dr. Thomas Garnett, appointed in 1796. He was succeeded by Dr. G. Birkbeck in 1799, who, in his turn, had as successor, in 1804, Dr. Andrew Ure. Neither of the two first lecturers formed any part of the College of Medicine contemplated in the will; they were expounders of science to popular audiences. Dr. Ure was in the same position during the first years of his appointment, and even possibly throughout his tenure of

office. There is evidence to show that he lectured to medical students both in chemistry and materia medica; but whether in connection with Anderson's institution has not been ascertained. In reference to Dr. Anderson's will, Dr. John Burns occupied the singular position of being the only professor, out of thirty-six *in posse* nominated by the testator, who became a professor *in esse* of the institution. His connection with the Andersonian College of Medicine was, however, little more than titular. He occupied his own rooms, which were changed from Virginia Street to a tenement on the north side of College Street, and later to rooms on the west side of John Street. Unfortunately he compromised himself by some alleged connection with a case of illegal exhumation, and a prosecution commenced was averted by his undertaking to discontinue the teaching of anatomy, limiting his courses to surgery and midwifery. But, in 1806, the anatomy demonstrations were resumed by his brother Allan, who had returned from Russia, where he had filled a post offered to him by the Empress Catherine. Unlike his brother, Allan did not excel as a lecturer, but as a demonstrator and dissector he was *facile princeps*; and there gathered around him a little knot of young men whom he infected with his own enthusiasm, and who assisted him in his work. His brief but brilliant career was terminated by death in 1813—a severe blow to the Glasgow Medical School, on which he had already shed lustre. His work on the *Anatomy of the Head and Neck* is one of the most noteworthy contributions to anatomy which the Glasgow School has yet made, and his *Observations on Diseases of the Heart* was long a classic on the subject. In the year 1811 the ranks of the extramural teachers were reinforced by a lecturer on medicine. This was Dr. Robert Watt, afterwards so celebrated in the field of bibliography. He continued to teach the subject for several years, till his absorption in the compilation of his *Bibliotheca Britannica*, and his uncertain health, compelled him to contract his labours. Of the little coterie whom Allan Burns had gathered around him, the teacher who took his place was Granville Sharp Pattison, who afterwards became his biographer. In 1818 Mr. Pattison was appointed Professor of Anatomy and Surgery in Anderson's University, still occupying the premises in John Street. A man of brilliant abilities as an expounder of anatomy, his life throughout was greatly marred by his rare genius for getting himself into trouble. Even during his brief career in Glasgow he showed a taste of his quality in this respect,[1] and his departure from the City, which was made under a cloud, was perhaps on that account the less to be regretted, though it was a distinct loss to the Glasgow Medical School.

Of the group of teachers known as the College Street School, little further requires to be added. Besides John and Allan Burns, there

[1] See Chap. XVI. 148.

lectured in it at various times, on anatomy, Mr. Andrew Russell, who had been tried and acquitted in connection with a "resurrectionist" charge in 1814; Dr. George C. Monteath, who eventually devoted himself to ophthalmology, and whose place of teaching and dissecting room was latterly in Gallowgate; Dr. John Robertson, and, latterly, Mr. James Douglas, for a short time, about 1835. Dr. Scouler lectured on botany in 1832; Dr. William Thomson on anatomy, surgery, and pathology, 1828-32; Dr. John Nimmo on medicine in 1835; and there were probably others. The exact date at which the premises in College Street were closed as a medical school has not been ascertained.

The medical school of Anderson's institution differed from the group of teachers last-mentioned, and also from the Portland Street School, about to be noticed, in so far that it was not a voluntary association of teachers, but organized under a directorate, who appointed the teachers. The names of the successive teachers up to the middle of the century, beyond which our survey does not extend, will be found in the table at the end of this chapter; and although it is true that some of them had only a local reputation, others—such as Burns, Pattison, Mackenzie, Ure, Graham, and Penny—attained to celebrity. In the domain of chemistry, as the last three of these names will suggest, Anderson's College was exceptionally fortunate, and the remark would be equally justified were the list of incumbents of the Chair further down the century added to those of its early part.

One general remark in reference to the "Andersonian," as it is still familiarly called, seems to be fully justified by the facts. It is this, that the success and reputation early achieved by the Medical College of the institution was in no sense owing to the fostering care of its governing body. Of no school would it be less true to affirm that it was rocked and dandled into prosperity. On the contrary, though conspicuously the most successful of all the departments of John Anderson's ideal institution, to the realization of which any attempt was made, yet it received the least help of them all from the management. The teachers owed nothing to the direction but a title and the tenancy of the rooms, for which latterly they paid an adequate rent. Yet, in spite of the stepmotherly treatment, in spite also of its being cold-shouldered by the University, the old Andersonian Medical School grew and flourished, attracting students from far and near, of whom a fair proportion gained good positions in various departments of practice, and some attained to eminence. The following table shows the numbers in the anatomy classes for twenty years.

THE ANDERSONIAN STUDENTS OF ANATOMY.[1]

YEAR.	NUMBER OF STUDENTS OF ANATOMY.	YEAR.	NUMBER OF STUDENTS OF ANATOMY.	YEAR.	NUMBER OF STUDENTS OF ANATOMY.	YEAR.	NUMBER OF STUDENTS OF ANATOMY.
1841	120	1846	121	1851	115	1856	144
1842	116	1847	126	1852	98	1857	165
1843	108	1848	122	1853	110	1858	176
1844	120	1849	145	1854	125	1859	161
1845	140	1850	153	1855	136	1860	160

The curious in such matters may compare these figures with the corresponding statistics for the anatomy classes of the University of Glasgow during the same period.

The precise date of the opening of the Portland Street School we have been unable to ascertain, but it was before 1827.[2] Dr. A. Hannay taught medicine there, and Dr. James Armour midwifery and medical jurisprudence, before their translation to Anderson's College. It is stated that Thomas Graham lectured there on chemistry in 1828, but who his colleagues (if any) were does not appear. In 1830 it developed into a fairly-equipped medical school, with Dr. William Weir as secretary. The list of teachers from this date up to 1844, when the school may be said to have closed (though one, and possibly two teachers continued to occupy the place till about 1850), will be found in the table subjoined. Two of the lecturers, in addition to the two just named, Dr. Moses S. Buchanan and Mr. Thomas Graham, were transferred to Anderson's College, and one, Dr. John M. Pagan, to the University; and it will be noted that a considerable number of the Andersonian professors were also translated to the University School. Having given some statistics of the other medical schools, those of the Portland Street School, as far as they have been ascertained, are here tabulated:

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[1] Extracted from the Anatomy Class Roll-book, lent for the purpose by Dr. George Buchanan.

[2] *Lancet*, XII. 343, 796.

PORTLAND STREET SCHOOL.

YEAR.	TOTAL ATTENDANCE.	ANATOMY ONLY.	YEAR.	TOTAL ATTENDANCE.	ANATOMY ONLY.
1830	143	50	1837	183	64
1831	178	77	1838	188	80
1832	108	61	1839	186	90
1836	166	55	1840	109	72

These figures are taken from the School Roll-book, now in the Faculty Library.

We have been unable to ascertain any special causes operating to weaken the school after 1840; but it appears to have gradually gone down in a few years, one teacher dropping off after another, and no lecturers being found sufficiently venturesome to step in and supply the vacancy. The school thus died of inanition. In the session 1843-44 the only teachers announced were those of anatomy, surgery, and practical chemistry. Of the next, and presumably the last, session of the school, as such, no announcement has been found; but it appears that courses of anatomy, physiology, and surgery were started, and probably also chemistry, which was continued a few years longer. In the anatomy room that session there coruscated for something less than a month the brilliant, but somewhat erratic genius of the unfortunate Dr. Robert Knox. For the exile from Edinburgh the Portland Street class-room was only a forlorn hope. But, in spite of his misfortunes, he seems to have lost nothing of his old clearness of exposition, and facility and aptness of illustration. The late Dr. William Weir, himself umquhill teacher of medicine in the school, went to listen, and was fascinated by the lecturer. But his class was small, and before the end of November Knox had returned to the students their fees and taken his departure.[1]

[1] *Sketch of the Life and Writings of Robert Knox, the Anatomist*, by Henry Lonsdale, M.D., Lond., 1870.

TABLE showing the Teachers in the Medical Schools of Glasgow to the passing of the Medical Act, 1858, and the subjects they respectively taught.

SUBJECT.	UNIVERSITY.		ANDERSONIAN.		PORTLAND ST. SCHOOL.	
	YEAR.		YEAR.		YEAR.	
MEDICINE,	1637-46	Robert Maine.	...	...	...	...
	1714	John Johnstoun.	...	...	...	...
	1751	Wm. Cullen.	...	...	...	...
	1756	Robert Hamilton.	...	...	...	...
	1757	Joseph Black.	...	...	...	...
	1766	Alex. Stevenson.	...	...	...	...
	1789	Thos. Chas. Hope.	...	...	...	...
	1796	Robert Freer.	...	...	1826	Alexander Hannay.
	1827	Charles Badham.	1828	Alexander Hannay.	1830-42	William Weir.
	1841-52	Wm. Thomson.	1846-63	Andrew Anderson.	...	...
ANATOMY,	1720	Thomas Brisbane.	...	...	...	...
	1742	Robert Hamilton.	...	...	...	...
	1756	Joseph Black.	...	...	...	...
	1757	Thomas Hamilton.	...	...	...	...
	1781	William Hamilton.	...	...	...	...
	1790	James Jeffray.	1799	John Burns.	...	...
	1848-77	Allen Thomson.	1818	Granville S. Pattison.	...	...
	..	...	1819	Wm. MacKenzie.	1826	Robert Hunter.
	...	...	1828	Robert Hunter.	1830	Peter Stirling.
	...	...	...	...	1836	Moses S. Buchanan.
	...	...	1841-60	Moses S. Buchanan.	1841	James Douglas.
	...	...	...	...	1844	Robert Knox.
SURGERY,	...	...	1799	John Burns.	1826	Robert Hunter.
	1815	John Burns.	1818	Granville S. Pattison.	1830	Wm. Auchencloss.
	...	...	1819	Wm. MacKenzie.	...	...
	...	...	1829	James A. Lawrie.	...	...
	1850-59	James A. Lawrie.	1850-60	Robert Hunter.	1840-44	William Lyon.
MIDWIFERY,	1815	James Towers.	...	...	...	...
	1820	John Towers.	...	...	1826	James Armour.
	1833	[Robert Lee.]	1828	James Armour.	1830	James Wilson.
	1834	Wm. Cummin.	1831	James Brown.	1838	Charles Ritchie.
	1840-68	John M. Pagan.	1841-63	James Paterson.	1840	Maxwell Adams.
CHEMISTRY,		*Lecturers.*				
	1747	William Cullen.	...	...	...	...
	1756	Joseph Black.	...	...	...	...
	1766	John Robison.	...	...	...	...
	1769	William Irvine.	...	...	...	...
	1787	Thomas C. Hope.	...	...	...	...
	1791	Robert Cleghorn.	...	...	1828	Thomas Graham.
		Professor.				
	1818-52	Thomas Thomson.	1830	Thomas Graham.	1833	James M'Conechy.
	...	...	1837	Wm. Gregory.	...	...
	...	...	1839-70	Frederick Penny.	1836-44	Robert M'Gregor.

SUBJECT.	UNIVERSITY.		ANDERSONIAN.		PORTLAND ST. SCHOOL.	
	YEAR.		YEAR.		YEAR.	
BOTANY,	1818	Robert Graham.	1819	William Cummin.	...	...
	1821	Sir Wm. Jos. Hooker	1847-63	Joseph Bell.	1840-42	David Gibson.
	1841	John H. Balfour.	...	...	..	...
	1845-68	G. A. Walker-Arnott	...	...	...	...
MATERIA MEDICA,		*Lecturers.*				
	1766	Wm. Irvine.	...	...	...	...
	1787	Thomas C. Hope.	...	...	...	...
	1788	Richard Cleghorn.	...	...	1827	Wm. MacKenzie.
	1791	Richard Millar.	1828	Andrew Buchanan.	1830	Wm. Davidson.
		Professors.				
	1831	Richard Millar.	1838	Wm. Hooker.	1841-42	J. D. Muter.
	1834	John Couper.	1840	John A. Easton.	...	...
	1855-65	John A. Easton.	1855-88	James Morton.	...	...
PHYSIOLOGY,	...	...	...	...	1830	William Weir.
	1839-76	Andrew Buchanan.	1840	Andrew Anderson.	1833	William Craig.
	...	...	1846	Maxwell Adams.	1836	William Weir.
	...	...	1850-76	Eben. Watson.	1839-42	Wm. Macdonald.
MEDICAL JURISPRUDENCE,	...	...	...	...	1826	James Armour.
	...	...	1831	Geo. Watt.	1830	J. M. Pagan.
	1839	Robert Cowan.	1842	John Crawford.	1841-42	H. Cleland.
	1841-72	Harry Rainy.	1856-63	J. B. Cowan.	1842-43	John Jackson.
NATURAL HISTORY,	1807	Lockhart Muirhead.	...	...	...	...
	1829	Wm. Couper.	...	...	...	...
	1857-66	Henry D. Rogers.	...	...	...	...

CHAPTER XX

GLASGOW MEDICAL SOCIETIES AND CLUBS

As far as we can trace there existed no society in Glasgow for the discussion of medical topics till the beginning of the present century. The earliest in point of time seems to have been the Medico-Chirurgical of the University, a students' society inaugurated in 1802, which still continues in vigorous health. As regards societies for medical practitioners, the Glasgow Medical Society usually gets the credit of being the parent association; but a shade of doubt is thrown on the point by a passage in its own first Minute book. This occurs in the Minute of 5th October, 1819, when a motion was submitted that the name of the society should be changed, on the ground "that there exists in Glasgow another and older medical society of the same name"; but this motion was subsequently withdrawn. There was probably no valid ground for the statement in the motion, as it is hardly conceivable that the title of an elder existing society should have been assumed, or that when the matter was challenged, the usurpation of title should have been persisted in. The probability is that the association to which allusion is made was the Glasgow Medical Club, to be afterwards referred to in this chapter, and which may occasionally have been known as the Medical Society.

The Glasgow Medical Society was founded in 1814, the preparatory meeting having been held on 27th October of that year. It was attended by six medical men—Dr. Robert Watt, Dr. Robert Graham, Dr. John Robertson, Mr. Granville Sharp Pattison, Mr. John Young, and Mr. George Macleod. Dr. Watt was called to the chair, and a rudimentary constitution was agreed on, which a committee was appointed to elaborate. At the next meeting three new recruits were enrolled—Mr. James Alexander, Dr. George Monteath, and Dr. Robert Perry, though the last-named does not appear to have been present. These eight having subscribed the "Laws," the society at once set to its proper work, Dr. Watt being elected as first president.

Of the eight original members or founders of the society, at least half

were well-known medical men in Glasgow, some of them destined to become better known. Dr. Robert Watt had already repute as a lecturer on medicine and the author of two works on medical subjects, and he was at the time at work on his *Bibliotheca Britannica*, which was to form such a wonderful monument to his skill and industry as a bibliographer. Dr. Robert Graham had made his mark as a physician, and was an enthusiastic botanist, destined to fill the Chairs of Botany successively in Glasgow and Edinburgh. Dr. John Robertson was a lecturer on anatomy, and subsequently became a physician at Bath. Mr. Granville Sharp Pattison was an accomplished teacher of anatomy in the school founded by John and Allan Burns. Mr. George Monteath had only lately established himself as a surgeon and lecturer, and afterwards was an oculist in the city. Of the others, with the exception of Dr. Robert Perry, to be mentioned presently, less is known. Mr. George Macleod was a Highlander whose lofty appreciation of the character of the Celtic race was somewhat oddly displayed in a paper he read on the case of a "fasting woman." In discussing the *bona fides* of the patient, who, he admits, was not properly watched so as to place the element of deception beyond doubt, though somewhat guarded in his judgment, he still inclined to the opinion that the abstinence from food was real; and in favour of this view he naïvely urges: "She was a very religious woman, to which may be added the circumstance *of her being a Highland woman*, for I believe that those of Celtic extraction are less apt to impose on the public than others."

There was some little difficulty in christening the infant society. The name first adopted was "The Glasgow Medical and Chirurgical Society," but at the second meeting it was agreed, on the motion of Drs. Graham and Monteath, "that as the name, Glasgow Medical and Surgical Society, was objectionable to some of the members, the resolution imposing that appellation be further considered." Accordingly, at next meeting the name was changed to "The Glasgow Medical Society." The conjecture is perhaps not very far-fetched, that the objection taken to the double-barrelled name had some reference to the legal point raised at that time in the case of the University graduates against the Faculty, whether surgery was technically included in medicine; whether, in fact, a doctor of medicine was entitled as such to practise surgery. The Faculty granted the new society accommodation in their premises in St. Enoch's Square. The constitution provided for the compulsory reading of papers by members in rotation; periodical discussions on prevalent diseases; fines, not only for default in the matter of providing and giving adequate notice of papers, but also for complete and partial absence from meetings. Probably in a small society it was necessary to make the contribution of papers obligatory; it evidently proved an irksome provision for a number of the members, and could not but react on the quality of the contributions. This rule was not abolished till 1844. The provision for fining absentees appears also to have produced some friction;

there were constant applications for leave of absence, especially in the case of those lecturers whose courses were delivered in the evening; and the frequent resignations were no doubt directly attributable to the same cause. One member, whose frequent absence, from illness, had to be now and again condoned, was the first president—Dr. Watt—who, besides suffering from a delicate constitution, and giving some premonitions of the illness which cut him off untimely in 1819, was immersed in his bibliographical researches.

It does not lie within our plan to follow the fortunes of any of the associations whose rise and origin are here briefly chronicled. The rules of this society provided for the preservation in manuscript of the whole of the papers read, and this plan was rigidly adhered to down to 1845, when its continuance was thought unnecessary, now that the providing of pabulum for each meeting was no longer a matter of individual obligation. Thirty-one volumes of the "Essays" are on the shelves of the Faculty library, and the contents of each volume have been inserted in the catalogue of the library. Many of the subjects discussed are of perennial interest to the medical profession, but in most instances the particular side or phase of them presented in these "Essays" has ceased to be of interest to the present generation. One mode of treatment for many diseases, phlebotomy, is constantly cropping up, especially in the earlier papers. "Phlebotomy in Intractable Cases of Syphilis" is a title which at once suggests how great is the gulf that separates the therapeutics of the beginning and the end of the century. Mr. James M'Conechy, subsequently a well-known Glasgow journalist, gives a learned historical dissertation on the practice of blood-letting in general, tracing this depleting treatment back to the land of the Pharaohs, and following it through Greek and Roman civilization down through the Middle Ages to modern times. A paper by Dr. Thomas Brown of Lanfine, entitled "Cases of Sore Throat ending in Croup," was published, with a prefatory note by Dr. James Finlayson, in 1881, as being in some respects a contribution to the history of diphtheria in Scotland. Papers on medical ethics and etiquette occur now and again, and occasionally impromptu discussions on points connected with the one or the other are raised. Embedded in a paper by Dr. James Wilson, written in 1840, on "Certain Medical Habits and Professional Points of Etiquette," one comes on this passage, which will suggest to the younger generation of medical men in Glasgow how modern an institution that of the class of "consultants" in Glasgow really is:

"Many attempts," he says, "have been made by practitioners to establish themselves in this place in consulting practice, but they have almost in every instance failed. The fully engaged general practitioner could not embark in it without the risk of great pecuniary sacrifices; while the stranger, or the practitioner to whom it might be an object, would neither have the confidence of the public nor the profession."

The consultant in Glasgow, as distinguished from the medical practitioner called upon more or less frequently in consultation, really dates from little more than a generation back. The physician of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was essentially a family practitioner who limited himself to the practice of medicine.

The subjects of Medical Reform and Medical Education crop up now and again for discussion; but these gropings towards improvements in professional organization would not interest the present generation. A paper by Mr. James Brown, on "Medical Education in 1824," was a smart critique on the Faculty curriculum, which the writer found to be inadequate. It consisted then of two courses of anatomy and surgery, and one course of chemistry, practice of medicine, midwifery, and materia medica and botany. Mr. Brown strongly advocated a return to the discarded apprenticeship system, the five years thus spent to be supplemented, should the candidate see fit, by an entirely optional course of college study. There is not a word in the paper on the utilization of the resources of the hospital for practical instruction, an idea which developed later.

The occasional unauthorized publication of their discussions more than once roused the ire of the society, for what reason does not appear from the Minutes. Nothing, indeed, could be balder and generally more meagre than the statement of matters of fact in the Minutes; and it was not till 1846, on the appointment of Dr. James Adams as secretary, that the bare skeleton of fact of the earlier Minutes gives place to the clothed form of the record of full discussion.

The subject of fever in one form or other was never long absent from the agenda of the society, as the thing itself was always with them, and the severity of the various great epidemics, notably those of 1818, 1843, and 1847, can be gauged from the notices in these transactions. In these days of the infancy of epidemiology the term typhus connoted two fevers now long recognized as specifically distinct—typhus, and enteric or typhoid, then known as "dothienenteritis." We gather from the Minute of the Society, of May 19th, 1835, that Dr. Robert Perry, physician to the Fever Hospital, had for some time been recognized as holding notions at variance with those commonly adopted. "Dr. Perry having on various occasions stated to the Medical Society a number of propositions on typhus fever in the Fever Hospital of Glasgow, which were not considered to be in accordance with the experience of the generality of the members of the society, and at the same [time] their great importance if made out, being fully admitted, on the motion of Mr. Watt, seconded by Dr. Macfarlane, it was agreed that five members of the society should be appointed as a commission to visit the wards of the Fever Hospital, along with Dr. Perry, who readily undertook to point out the facts upon which his opinions had been formed. The following gentlemen were appointed: Dr. Wm.

Weir, Dr. Young, Dr. John Pagan, Dr. John Macfarlane, and Mr. George Watt." An *ad interim* report was read in the May of next year, which was signed by the convener, Mr. Watt; but, as each of the other members had specific objections to certain points, it was agreed that it should be given in as the convener's report, the assent of the other members being only general and with reservations. The commission was renewed, with new members added; but no final report appears to have been made. Dr. Perry submitted his views to the commission in the form of sixteen formidable propositions; and the convener's report, though guarded and critical, was favourable to the most of Dr. Perry's theses, which covered a large part of the ground of the natural history of typhus and dothienenteritis. That Dr. Perry, in some of these propositions, does state the opinion that the two are specifically separate, cannot be gainsaid; and one or two of his old students have put on record their ineffaceable impression that he taught them that they were etiologically as well as pathologically distinct. But the clear statement of his convictions in one proposition becomes a little clouded by limiting statements in others; and on one or two points his pathology was probably faulty. But for this one flaw Dr. Perry would have stood forth, without challenge, as the man who first clearly established the differentiation of typhus from enteric fever. As it is, the credit due to him has only to be slightly qualified, that, while he placed the diagnosis of the two fevers on a stable foundation, he somewhat obscured the issue by one or two statements which the progress of pathology has proved to be unsound.[1]

While we are on the subject of typhus fever, we may advert to a discussion in the Medical Society which took place in 1847, in which Dr. Perry took part. One of the points at issue had reference to the contagiousness of typhus, when that gentleman informed the meeting of an experiment he had made, which appeared to settle the question. His statement was that "he had succeeded, about six years ago, in inoculating typhus, and had since repeated the experiment with success. He had rubbed cotton upon the skin of a typhus patient at the time desquamation was going on, and then introducing the cotton into the nostrils of another person." One breathes more freely when he adds, "The experiment was quite safe when tried on children." It must be remembered that the inoculation of small-pox had, in view of the safer practice of vaccination, been declared illegal by Act of Parliament; and though it might be justifiable to try to modify typhus by inducing an attack in youth, the experiment is one which perhaps few would care to repeat in our own day.

The various advances in the healing art and its armamentarium are faithfully mirrored in the society's Minutes as the century grew older. Ether-inhalation was discussed in 1847, and in the early part of 1848

[1] *Edin. Med. and Surg. Journ.*, XL. 64; *Dub. Journ. Med. Sci.*, X. 381; *Med. Times and Gaz.*, 1857, II. 537.

chloroform comes on the boards. In both cases opinions varied, and as regards chloroform anaesthesia, some appeared to think that the risks and unpleasant effects outweighed its advantages. On the whole, the outcome of the discussion emphasized the necessity for watchful caution. There was a full dress debate on homœopathy in 1851 initiated by the secretary, Dr. Adams. We gather from the debate, which was all on one side, that the occasion of the introduction of this discussion was the resignation of Dr. James Wilson and Dr. Thomas Watson as medical referees of the Caledonian Insurance Co., in consequence of a homœopathic practitioner having been associated with them as medical referees of the company. The upshot of the matter was that the homœopathic practitioner was called upon to resign, and the two former referees reinstated in office. The society had also on this occasion a fling at the members of another profession. "Animadversions were made . . . upon the gullibility and the officious meddling of clergymen, and the annoyance, of which they were frequently the agents, between medical men and their patients."

We have not space to follow further the fortunes of the Glasgow Medical Society, which in 1866[1] amalgamated with its more vigorous rival, the Medico-Chirurgical Society, to the history of which we have now briefly to advert.

The Medico-Chirurgical Society of Glasgow dates from 1844. It was constituted at a meeting held in the house of Dr. Jas. Lawrie, 15 Moore Place, on the 27th of June of that year.[2] Dr. Thomas Thomson, Professor of Chemistry in the University, was called to the chair, and was elected first president. From the first the members kept themselves free from the trammels of compulsory papers and attendance with which the older society had bound itself. The members of the latter were invited to enter, and the members of the Edinburgh Medico-Chirurgical Society were to be privileged visitors—a compliment which was at once reciprocated by the eastern sister. In another respect the members resolved to place themselves abreast of other associations. They agreed, "in conformity with the practice followed by the various literary and scientific institutions of London and Edinburgh," to have coffee served to them at the termination, and eventually at the beginning, of the meeting. The older society, through their secretary, wrote to say that they would "always rejoice in any good the newly-formed association may be able to accomplish, either in the improvement of its own members or the advancement of the Healing Art in its scientific or practical departments." The fact that the new society was needed was abundantly shown by large accessions to the roll. One of the earliest papers was one by Dr. Adam Warden, F.R.C.S.Ed., "On the Employment of the totally reflecting prism for illuminating the Open Cavities of the body with a view

[1] The last Minute is dated March of that year.

[2] Of twenty-six medical men present, the only survivor at the time of writing is Dr. James Adams.

to facilitate the Examination of Disease." A paper which attracted much attention was read in 1851 by Dr. Andrew Buchanan on "Darlingism, misnamed Electro-Biology." The whole phenomena exhibited by peripatetic expounders of what is now known as hypnotism he set down as originating in an excited imagination, a love of notoriety, or a positive desire to deceive on the part of the subjects, or a combination in varied proportions of the several causes. A lively discussion followed, but the opinions of Dr. Buchanan were generally endorsed, and a resolution was adopted "that the society deem it their duty to put down a system founded on delusion, and fraught with immorality," and they further resolved, with a view to this end, to publish the address. The paper, notwithstanding the cordiality of its reception, can scarcely be said to be an important contribution to the subject, as it virtually relegates the whole phenomena of what is now known as hypnotism and hypnotic suggestion to the domain of fraud and delusion—an explanation which doubtless applies to a good deal of what is exhibited to popular audiences, but falls far short of the now admitted facts. In 1852 the society appears to have been a good deal exercised about a case of alleged plagiarism from Claude Bernard, by one of the members in a paper on "The Origin of Sugar in the Animal Economy." After some discussion a motion by Dr. Andrew Buchanan and Mr. John Reid was adopted, that it was no part of the function of the society to exercise moral censorship over its members, and they therefore resolved that it was inexpedient to proceed further in the matter. Another paper of Dr. Andrew Buchanan's, bearing the title of one which was read years before in the Medical Society, was also followed by a practical resolution. This was "On the Stable Nuisance in Glasgow," and the society agreed to make a strong representation to the Police Committee of the Town Council on the practice of having permanent repositories of filth, as disgusting and injurious to health, and that the accumulations should be removed with greater frequency. In 1858 the two societies held a joint meeting to examine the case of M. Groux, of Hamburg, the then well-known subject of congenital deficiency of the sternum, which enabled observations to be made on the sounds and motions of the heart. Dr. Allen Thomson seems to have acted as demonstrator on the occasion, and his remarks were subsequently published. The same year the society warmly interested themselves in a case of wrong suffered by Mr. James Henderson, parochial medical officer of the parish of Fordoun, in the county of Kincardine. This gentleman had been summarily dismissed from his office by the Parochial Board for making a *post-mortem* examination to ascertain the cause of the sudden death of a poorhouse patient. An additional offence was that he had declined to accept the testimony of third parties as sufficient ground for signing a lunacy certificate in the case of a person of whose insanity repeated examinations had wholly failed to convince him. Mr. Henderson was eventually reinstated in his office, and

it is to be hoped that the strong representation of the society contributed to the result. In 1859 the society guaranteed £25 to Brown-Séquard in respect of his giving a course of lectures in Glasgow on the anatomy, physiology, and pathology of the cerebro-spinal axis. The course was duly delivered, and was so successful that no call on the funds of the society was necessary. Dr. Brown-Séquard was made an honorary member of the society, and shortly afterwards the honorary fellowship of the Faculty was conferred on him. In 1860 the society contributed ten guineas to the John Hunter statue in London, and voted also £25 to assist the movement which had been started for the amendment of the Death Registration Act. The gravamen of the objection made to the Act was that it made the medical man penally liable for the signing of the death certificate, and denied him any fee for this professional act. The agitation continued for some time, but was not successful.

Though it goes beyond the limit in time which we had fixed for this sketch of the medical societies, viz., the middle of the century, we can hardly omit reference to the great meeting of the Medico-Chirurgical Society, held in the Faculty Hall on 17th April, 1868, when Professor (now Sir) Joseph Lister "gave a lengthened exposition of the atmospheric germ theory of putrefaction, and illustrated it by the exhibition of M. Pasteur's experiments with flasks containing urine." The lecture—though no paper was read—occupied nearly two hours, thus excluding the possibility of discussion; but next month Dr. Eben. Watson read "On the theory of Suppuration, and the use of Carbolic Acid Dressings," in which he threw doubt on the germ theory of putrefaction, and Lister's *rationale* of carbolic acid dressings, and attributed the undoubted good effects of the acid in surgical dressings to its effects in coagulating albumen, and rendering the surface firmer and more impervious to air, and keeping in the fluid discharges.

The jubilee year (1894) of the society found it in a condition more flourishing than at any former period of the society's existence, and with a large membership roll. Under its new constitution, recast some years ago, under which it meets in four groups—a medical, a surgical, a pathological, and an obstetrical and gynaecological section, each with its own head and executive—it has tried to adapt itself to the wants of the time.

Another medical association which took origin in the same year as the Medico-Chirurgical Society is the Glasgow Southern Medical Society, which is fortunate in possessing as its historiographer, Dr. John Dougall.[1] To that gentleman's sketch we are indebted for all that we know of this association. He mentions—quoting the Minutes—that the first formal meeting was held in the "Secretary's Chambers, Mrs. Thomson's Lodgings, 15 Oxford Street, 16th August (Friday), 1844, in full conclave." If the meeting was formal, certainly the official record of it is not characterized by formality, and the

[1] *Historical Sketch of the Glasgow Southern Medical Society.* Glasgow, 1888.

same remark applies to most of the Minutes made by the first Secretary. The original list of members were "James Stewart, Esq., President; John Goudie, Esq., Treasurer; John Leech, Esq., Secretary; David Campbell, Esq., simple member." Dr. Leech, the Secretary, was something of a character, and his eccentricities come out markedly in his Minutes, which are generally written in a vein of pleasantry and banter occasionally running almost into riotous fun. The quotations given by Dr. Dougall from these early Minutes form racy reading, and to his pages the reader, who does not think the record beneath the dignity of the historic muse, is referred for entertainment, and information in regard to the progress of the society. One new feature was the institution of a "Black Book," in which was kept a record of non-paying patients; but this does not appear to have been a success. The society has, in addition to the usual office-bearers, a "Court Medical" for investigating and giving judgment in cases of medical ethics and etiquette occurring amongst the members. It has published a *Code of Ethics*, and a *Tariff of Medical Fees*. The enormous expansion of Southern Glasgow within recent years has opened up a wide field of usefulness for this society.

Originating earlier in point of time than the two last named societies, the Glasgow Faculty of Medicine differs from all the associations of medical men in Glasgow as regards originating motive, constitution and objects. It started at a period when the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons was a body far from popular amongst the rank and file of the general profession in Glasgow. The territorial jurisdiction conferred by the charter was enforced with as much rigour as the circumstances would allow. A town licentiate's fee was high and that of a member much higher, while the former obtained no privilege in return for the payment, except that of being allowed to practice within the bounds. The fact that every member was obliged to join the Widows' Fund, an expensive scheme, virtually excluded from the corporation all but the well-to-do of the profession in Glasgow. In addition to all this the position of University graduates, who had qualified at a moderate cost, was doubtful in regard to their right to the practice of surgery, or virtually to general practice. There is little wonder, therefore, that there was much irritation felt amongst a section of practitioners at the domination of this exclusive corporation, and the Faculty of Medicine was the earliest concrete expression of this feeling. This society, therefore, to a large extent, originated in political antipathy to the chartered body in St. Enoch Square; and one odd expression of this feeling on the part of the new society was the assumption of a name so nearly alike that of the Faculty as to be certain in course of time to mislead and create confusion, should the new venture succeed. The proem to the first published constitution bears that, "A number of medical practitioners in Glasgow and the neighbourhood convened within the Cowpock Institution Hall, 1st October, 1825. After mature deliberation they unanimously agreed to form themselves into

an association under the designation of the Glasgow Faculty of Medicine."[1] The meetings were to be held on the first Friday of every month. The executive was to consist of a president, vice-president, treasurer, court of eight directors, librarian, secretary, paid clerk, and box-masters.[2] The annual payment by members was fixed at £2 12s., one pound of which was to be devoted to purchasing books, one pound to a benevolent fund to assist in forming an annuity for widows, and the balance of twelve shillings to form an ordinary fund for granting occasional aid to decayed members and defraying the expenses of management. It will thus be seen that the new association was formed on different lines from those of an ordinary scientific society of medical men. The idea of the founders was essentially that of a medical library in association with a widows' fund. The monthly meeting appears to have been intended for business purposes, no provision being apparently made at first for the reading of papers on professional topics. The entire constitution, however, it was expressly provided, might be changed, with two reservations. One was that the body could not dissolve if two members objected, and the other was that the name, "The Glasgow Faculty of Medicine," was to remain "unchangeable and inviolate." This latter stipulation seems to be based on an anticipation that the successors of the founders might be visited with conscientious qualms as to the assumption of a title fitted to confuse and annoy. The "wee faculty," as it came to be popularly known, failed to realize the ambitious aims of its projectors. The widows' fund scheme, for the working of which an elaborate set of tables is appended to the original rules, never properly got under weigh at all. In a few years it would appear that the members had somewhat assimilated the functions of the body to those of an ordinary medical society. In the *Glasgow Medical Examiner* of 1831-32 we find their discussions on papers and medical topics reported: they started a vaccination dispensary in 1828, which was carried on for a great many years. As their aims became less ambitious, their members appear to have increased, till it fairly fulfilled the function of a medical society for the central and eastern parts of the city. As other societies came into existence, it began to decline, and the Faculty of Medicine eventually fell back on the useful function of a small reading club. It is presently housed in the Eye Infirmary, Charlotte Street.

The Glasgow Pathological Society commenced in 1851, and met for several years. It was intended to be associated, as its name implied, with specially pathological work. Its meeting-place was therefore fittingly in the Royal Infirmary, and it was inaugurated by a paper by Dr. Robert Perry entitled,

[1] The official notice in the *Medical Directory* gives the date as 1824.

[2] The first office-bearers were Robert Hosie, president; David Steel, R.N., vice-president; John Campbell, R.N., treasurer; George Ferguson, librarian; Archibald Ferguson, R.N., secretary; John Buchanan, sealkeeper, and eight directors. Five were ex-surgeons of the Royal Navy, and one had been an Army surgeon.

"Remarks on the *post-mortem* appearances in the bladder and ureters in Typhus cases," in which he drew attention to some appearances which had not been previously observed, or at least recorded, and gave details of twenty-six cases, showing specimens. The late Sir William Aitken, and a few other enthusiasts in the field of pathology, threw themselves with energy into the work of this society. The distance of the Infirmary from what may be called the centre of medical activity of the City was probably the chief reason of the comparatively short life of this society.

The Medical Societies of Glasgow of more recent origin: the Glasgow Pathological and Clinical Society, founded in 1873, which has published several volumes of transactions; the Glasgow and West of Scotland Branch of the British Medical Association, founded in 1875; the Obstetrical and Gynaecological Society which originated in 1885, and the Eastern Medical Society, in 1893, do not come within our purview, and we now pass on merely to glance at two associations, with an aim and object purely social and recreative.

The precise date of the establishment of the "Medical Club" has not been ascertained, but it was before 1800, and probably about 1798. Its Minute book, if any such book was kept, does not appear to have been preserved; and nearly all that has come down to us in reference to it is given in the very discursive sketch in Strang's *Glasgow and its Clubs*.[1] Probably Strang's information about the club which, when precipitated from the combination of personal anecdote, descriptive sketching, and digressive sallies, does not amount to much, was obtained from some of the members. Membership of the Faculty was a necessary qualification, but it was not easy to obtain the *entrée* to this extremely select fraternity. The club met monthly, at first in a well-known tavern in Princes Street, kept by Mrs. Pollok, and afterwards in the "Prince of Wales" in Brunswick Street. It must be remembered that these were still the days when it was the almost universal practice for persons of the well-to-do classes, after the labours of the day were over, to meet regularly in inns or taverns for the purposes of social relaxation. Many a jovial hour was thus spent by the members of the various clubs of the city, some of which met every evening, and others weekly or oftener. The Medical Club assembled every month at the hour of four o'clock. If the members were not all clubbable jovial souls, it was not the fault of the rules, under which a single black ball excluded. The story told by Strang is said to be authentic, of an able but troublesome member of the Faculty being proposed in a speech by a reluctant friend, and at the ballot *all* the balls being found to be black; and whether true or not, it shows that it was well understood that only good fellows could run the gauntlet of the brotherhood. One of the leading members was Dr. Freer, Professor of Medicine in the University; and the extreme contrast between the natural

[1] See second edition 1857, p. 241, *et seq.*

reserve and grave formality of his academic and professional every-day life and mien, and his complete *abandon* in the presence of his Æsculapian fraternity only added to the enjoyment. Other members named were Dr. James Jeffray, Professor of Anatomy, the learned Dr. Richard Miller, Charles Wilsone, William Dunlop, James Towers, John Macarthur, James Monteath, William Couper, Robert Cowan, William Nimmo, etc. The club flourished till about the year 1814, when it came to a somewhat sudden termination.

A period of over thirty years elapsed before the inauguration of another similar association for the promotion of social intercourse amongst the members of the profession. The Western Medical Club took its origin at a dinner held, by previous arrangement, at Bell's Inn, Bowling Bay, on 25th July, 1845, attended by the following members of the profession all resident in Glasgow: Dr. A. D. Anderson, Dr. William Weir, Dr. John Macfarlane, Dr. Robert Perry, Mr. George Watson, Dr. David Gibson, Dr. J. G. Fleming, Dr. Alexander Maclaverty, Dr. A. M. Adams, and Dr. Andrew Anderson.[1] Dr. A. D. Anderson was appointed chairman, and Dr. Robert Perry, vice-chairman. In the course of the evening, which, as the secretary, Dr. J. G. Fleming, states, "was spent with great hilarity," "it was agreed to institute a club with the object of providing friendly and social intercourse among the members of the medical profession in Glasgow and the West of Scotland." A committee was appointed to draw up a constitution and regulations. These provided for a definitely limited number of town and country members, a dinner in Glasgow in winter and in the country in summer. In 1849 the dinner which should have been held in Glasgow was intermitted, "in consequence of the great prevalence of epidemic cholera in Glasgow and the West of Scotland." In 1864-66 the meetings appear to have been again intermitted, owing to the secretary (Dr. James Fraser) having left town. With these exceptions, the social gatherings have been continuous for half-a-century, the club celebrating its jubilee at Tarbet in June, 1895.

The "Town and Country Club," with objects similar to the last named, founded in 1893, is too recent in its origin to come within our survey. The exclusiveness of the older club is probably the *raison d'être* of this vigorous rival.

[1] The only survivor of the gathering (1896) is Dr. Maclaverty.

CHAPTER XXI

EARLY GLASGOW MEDICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY AND JOURNALISM

ON a hasty glance it might appear that a chapter on the early medical bibliography of Glasgow need not greatly exceed in length the famous one on snakes in Ireland. The theme is certainly not a large one. The town being one of so great size and importance at the end of the nineteenth century, it is apt to be forgotten that it was only at the beginning of it that it entered on that career of rapid development which has raised it to the rank of Second City of the Empire. The art of printing was not introduced into Glasgow till 1638, the year in which the General Assembly of the Kirk, which figures so prominently in Scottish history, sat in Glasgow. George Anderson, our first printer, came from Edinburgh, and remained in Glasgow till his death about 1648. He appears to have printed no medical books. His son, Andrew Anderson, began business in the burgh in 1658, having previously pursued his craft for a year or two in Edinburgh. Among the first, if not indeed the earliest book he printed, was one written in Latin by Dr. Sylvester Rattray, a physician who had settled in Glasgow a year or two previously, concerning whom personally not much has been ascertained. The following is the title of the book, which is in duodecimo:

> "Aditus Novus | ad occultas | Sympathiae | et | Antipathiae | Causas inveniendas : | per | Principia Philosophiæ na | turalis, ex Fermentorum | artificiosâ Anatomia hausta | patefactus. | A Sylvestro Rattray, | Med. Doct. Glasguensi Scoto. | Natura est arcanorum suorum interpres fidis- | sima, nam quæ in uno aliquo genere obscu- | rius exhibit, ea luculentius in alio explicat. | Glasguæ, Excudebat Andreas Anderson, | ANNO DOM. 1658." [12 pp., not numbered, pp. 135.]

There is a dedication, "IOANNI SCOTO, SCOTOTARVATIO, Nobili Musarum Mæcenati,"[1] and also a preface, through which one looks in vain for auto-

[1] Sir John Scott, of Scotstarbet, encouraged Timothy Pont in the preparation of the *Atlas of Scotland*, published at Amsterdam in 1662, and for this and other reasons he was

biographical details. The title fairly enough represents the character of the contents. The book appears to be an attempt to find a philosophical basis for a system of medicine, as well as of other things, in which the opposing powers of sympathy and antipathy, especially the former, play the leading part. The system itself was no new thing, and may be traced back to Paracelsus. The famous Dutch physician, Van Helmont, adopted and elaborated it, and his writings on the subject were translated into English by Dr. Walter Charleton in 1650, under the title, *A Ternary of Paradoxes: the Magnetic Cure of Wounds*, etc. A considerable literature had arisen round the subject before Rattray wrote; and in the same year as his treatise appeared, a work on it in English, from the pen of Sir Kenelm Digby,[1] placed on the system the impress of fashion, though it is more than doubtful whether Digby's own account of how he became possessed of the secret is anything but pure fiction. The therapeutic application of the force of sympathy took the form of the "weapon salve," or "powder of sympathy," which had the remarkable virtue of effecting a cure, not when applied directly to a wound, but at a distance, especially to a bandage or other material which had come from the wound, or to the weapon which had inflicted it. Many were the forms of composition of the various sympathetic medicaments, and fantastic as they were varied. Green vitriol prepared for 365 days by exposure to the sun, ointments made from powdered mummies, human blood and fat, moss from a dead man's skull, may be given as specimens of the ingredients. To find a philosophical ground-work for a system teeming with absurdities of this kind may seem a task of some difficulty,[2] but Dr. Rattray was equal to it. He begins by searching through the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms, up to man, for examples of "amor" and "odium," sympathy and antipathy. Everywhere in these realms of nature he finds the operation of the two occult forces. Mineral likes or dislikes mineral, vegetable has an attraction or the opposite for vegetable, animals draw or repel each other, whilst the same

entitled to be called a Maecenas. That he evinced a friendly interest in the poor of Glasgow is shown by his having mortified certain lands named "Puckie and Puckie Mylne," for the purpose of "putting prentises to craftes within the burgh," the benefaction being limited to "poor boyes." (*Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow*, 1630-1662, 266, 328, etc.)

[1] *A late discourse made in a solemn Assembly of nobles and learned men at Montpellier . . . touching the cure of wounds by the powder of sympathy.* Rendered faithfully out of French into English by R. White. 2nd ed., 12°, Lond. 1658.

[2] Belief in sympathetic cures was widespread, and accepted by the best intelligence of the day. On 26th June, 1660, Sir G. Talbot submitted a paper on the subject to the newly-founded Royal Society, and the fact that a specimen of the powder was entered in the journal to be procured shows that he made an impression. (Weld's *History of the Royal Society*, I. 111, 112.) Bacon not only believed in witchcraft, but in healing by sympathy, and he related a cure of warts on himself by this method. (Weld, *op. cit.* 87, note.)

subtle forces govern the relationship of these three kingdoms in their mutual interactions. It is a science of nature based on two antithetical forces, a case of "pull baker, pull devil" extending through the whole of the kosmos, and the theory all apparently founded on a wide induction of facts. Unfortunately, the facts are not of the order spoken of by Burns—

> "But facts are chiels that winna ding,
> And downa be disputed."

Their verification could hardly have entered as an element into the science of the old physician. Here are a few taken at random:

"The smoking of the lung of an ass or a horse in a house kills worms, serpents, and all poisonous things."[1] "Clothes which have been at a funeral are never attacked by moths."[2] "If we often make use of the shorter lived fruits, and the animals which feed upon them, they shorten life."[3] "Should the feathers of the tail of a peacock come into contact with a haemorrhage from accident or blow, it cannot be stopped unless these are removed."[4] Starting from a foundation such as this, he proceeds to elaborate his scheme. Therapeutics resolves itself into a science of sympathetic or antipathetic antidotes. Nor is he in any way daunted by the task of explaining how medicines can act at a distance from the point of lesion. His theory need not be reproduced here; it is rather metaphysical, and not easily understood. Such as it is, however, he makes a point of its being his own, and he criticizes Van Helmont and others with considerable freedom. He discards any explanation based on a supposed analogy of his forces to magnetic attraction and repulsion. He will have none of Van Helmont's "magnale magnum," invented apparently to simplify the *rationale* of the sympathetic process, and puts it contemptuously aside. Rattray was evidently not extreme in his views, and glimmerings of common-sense appear here and there in his fantastical reasonings. He ought, he says, to have added a section on the method of curation as elucidated by the theory of sympathy, but this had to be deferred till another occasion, which seems never to have presented itself.

Rattray's little book was republished in Tübingen (in 16°), by J. A. Reisius, in 1660; and in 1662 at Nurnberg, in a quarto collection of pieces on the same subject; and here it occupies the place of honour at the beginning of the volume.[5] For a book published in a place so unimportant as Glasgow then was, this seems no small honour to the author. This position was doubtless due to the fact that his little treatise dealt with underlying principles supposed to constitute the groundwork of the system, and its place was thus properly

[1] P. 19. [2] P. 20. [3] P. 16. [4] P. 12.

[5] Theatrum Sympatheticum auctum exhibens variores authores de Pulvere Sympathetico, quidem: Digbaeum, Straussium, Papinium et Mohyum de Unguento vero Armario . . . Praemittitur his Sylvestri Rattray, Aditus ad Sympathiam et Anti-pathiam. 4to, Nurnberg, 1662.

introductory. It need hardly be added that the printing of the Glasgow book is poor.

The next book in order is another by the same author—

> "Prognosis Medica ad usum praxeos facili methodo digesta. A. Sylvestro Rattræo, Med. Doct., Glasguensi Scoto. Nullum est praceptum adeo inviolabile ut limitationem non admittat. Glasguæ, Excudebat Robertus Sanders, Typographus Urbis, MDCLXVI." [Pp. 10 not numbered, 247.]

The dedication is to Sir John Wedderburn, one of the leading Scottish physicians at the time.[1] In his preface the author expatiates on the importance of a knowledge of prognosis to the practitioner, averring that medicine without it is simply hangman's work. Prognosis he therefore held to be the noblest department of the healing art. The work is divided into forty-nine chapters or sections. It is a digest from the work of Hippocrates and a few more recent writers. After the prognosis in the different diseases has been given, Chapter XLVIII. opens up some more general considerations. Rattray relegated all diseases into three categories—(1) slight ailments, requiring no treatment, as they may be left to nature; (2) diseases which cannot be subdued either by nature or art; (3) diseases tending to a fatal issue, in some cases amenable to successful treatment, and in others not. The first class, that of trivial affections, he dismisses in a sentence. In regard to the second, incurable ailments, he says that no prudent physician would attempt to tackle them. In the long list of them he jumbles together diseases, medical and surgical, injuries of vital organs, and congenital conditions. It includes blindness and deaf mutism, obstruction of the bowels, premature baldness, phthisis, large calculus, wounds of the heart, brain, stomach, and even the swallowing of needles, etc. But in looking down Dr. Rattray's black list, it is pleasant to note that modern medicine or surgery has successfully grappled with several of them. It is, however, his third category of ills which affords the proper scope for the therapeutic art; and he carefully defines the conditions in each of them which limits the possibility of cure. When the event is fatal, this is due either to the Deity, maleficence, physical fate, the doctor, the druggist, the patient, those around the patient, or, lastly, to outside influences. By the second of these adverse factors, "maleficence," it need hardly be said that the old Glasgow physician refers to witchcraft, the evil eye, and magic arts, in the power and potency of which Rattray, with all his contemporaries, was a believer. The sins of omission and commission of the physician in effecting or expediting a fatal issue are unsparingly dwelt on. In this connection he adverts to the fact that it is not the most learned physician who is necessarily the best in effecting

[1] Wedderburn was a St. Andrews M.D., and was admitted graduate at Oxford. He was Professor of Philosophy at St. Andrews, after which he seems to have travelled a good deal; and on his return he was knighted and made Physician-in-Ordinary to the king. (Matthias, *Conspectus Medicinæ*, 635.)

cures. "Varia etiam sunt dona Dei, hic ad docendum ille ad practicandum," is a shrewd observation which contains the germ of a truth recognized now as then. Similarly he notes the effects of bad or badly prepared medicaments, of the patient's peevishness and impatience, and of careless nursing. Finally the things "exteriora," which make for a fatal end, are such as lightning, earthquakes, the fall of the house, the barking of dogs, the noises made by neighbours, bad tidings, and the like.

One question he raises and settles to his own satisfaction. Rattray, it must be remembered, was a contemporary of Harvey, and lived in an age which inaugurated a revolution in physiology and medicine. Must not recent discourses, he asks, in regard to the circulation of the blood, the ducts, the receptacle of the chyle, the doctrine of fever as resulting from the action of ferments, necessarily affect and modify the old notions as to prognosis? Not in any way, he jauntily answers; the good old Hippocratic landmarks remain where they were. As regards prognosis he was perhaps not so far wrong.

The printer, it will be observed, is Robert Sanders, who succeeded Andrew Anderson as printer to the City, and lived to about 1696. The type is scarcely better than that of Rattray's first book, and the proof-reading faulty, being excused in a note as due to the absence of the author.

These books of Rattray's have been noticed at greater length than their intrinsic importance might seem to warrant. To us their bibliographical interest lies in the fact that with the exception of the second and subsequent editions of Lowe's *Chirurgerie*, they form the only Glasgow contributions made to medicine during the seventeenth century, the first books in any department of medicine printed in Glasgow, and that they stand at a long distance in point of time before the next on the list. Several of the other physicians, and more of the surgeons, doubtless made a local reputation in the burgh and beyond it; but they have left no taste of their quality in the shape of literary remains. Hence such physicians as Professor Robert Mayne, Dr. John Colquhoun, Dr. Robert Hamilton and his son James, Dr. Thomas Hamilton, and Dr. Michael Wallace; and Glasgow surgeons, as the Halls, James Frank (the Englishman), the elder Houstoun, Henry Marshall, and others, are little more to us than names. But with Rattray it is different. We can through these books make out his mode of regarding nature and man, his fantastic theory of medicine, and his felt powerlessness in the presence of affections induced by supernatural agency.

We have been unable to find in the library of the Faculty, or in the lists of books printed in Glasgow given by Macvean[1] or by Duncan,[2] any other medical work printed by Robert Sanders. It is well known that

[1] M'Ure's *View of the City of Glasgow*, 1830, 368 *et seq.*

[2] *Notices and Documents illustrative of the Literary History of Glasgow.* Maitland Club, 1831.

during the latter part of the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth century the business of printing and book-production generally in Glasgow instead of improving steadily deteriorated.[1] Various efforts were made by the University to place matters on a better footing; but it was not till Robert Urie and the brothers Foulis began to print about 1740 that really creditable printing was executed in Glasgow. As far as we have ascertained, the first medical work of the Foulis' press was *Hippocratis Aphorismi.* Gr. et Lat. 12°. 1748. A reprint in duodecimo of Garth's *Dispensary* was executed by the same printers in 1750. The next in order appears to be

> "Gulielmi Harveii, Doct. et Profess. Regii Exercitationes Anatomicae de motu cordis et sanguinis circulatione. Glasguae: In Aedibus R. Urie, Sumptibus D. Baxter, Bibliopilae. MDCCLI." [Pp. x.+299. 8vo.]

The printing of this volume is admirably clear. Two years later we have from the Foulis press:

> "Sure Methods of attaining a long and healthful Life, with means of correcting a bad constitution. Written originally in Italian by Lewis Cornaro, a Noble Venetian, when he was near an Hundred Years of Age. Glasgow. Printed and Sold by R. and A. Foulis. MDCCLIII." [Pp. xviii. 2 pp. not numbered+pp. 120. 12°.]

The typography, it is needless to say, is admirable. In our bibliographical record there is now an interval of thirteen years, and the next reprint is by a Glasgow editor:

> "A. Corn. Celsvs De Re Medica. Accessurus Index Vocabulorum omnium et cujuscunque ad Rem pertinentes More Dictionarii. In usum Humanitatis et Medicinae studiosorum.[2] Glasguae. Excudebat Gulielmus Bell: veneunt apud Foulis, Gilmour et Duncan. Edinburghi, Kincaid et Bell: Balfour Fleming, Drummond et Donaldson: Londini apud eundem Millar et Wilson. 2 Vols. MDCCLXVI." [Pp. 400. 8°.]

There is a magniloquent dedication to the members of the Faculty, "Viris amplissimis et literatissimis civitatis nostrae Glasguensis, Medicis, Chirurgis, et Pharmacopolis," in which the editor, Dr. Andrew Morris, complacently takes credit for having supplied in the edition of *Celsus* a want long felt for an accurate text. It is a pity that he delayed the publication of his *Vocabulary of Celsus*, which never appears to have seen the light. This edition was the result of the enforced leisure of its eccentric editor, who

[1] Wodrow (*Analecta*, III. 249) mentions that in 1725 when a Committee prepared a Vindication of the Magistrates as regards their conduct in the Shawfield Riots, they had to have it printed in London, as the Magistrates of Edinburgh would not allow it to be printed in that city. No wonder that the Secretary of State "wondered there was not a press in Glasgow at the Magistrates' command."

[2] In Vol. II. this is varied into "Medicinae et Chirurgiae Studiosorum."

was for many years paralyzed in his lower limbs, and a pensioner of the Faculty.

From the publication of Morris's edition of *Celsus* in 1766, we have apparently no medical book brought out in Glasgow for upwards of twenty years. Even then we can only unearth a pamphlet of thirty-six pages, entitled

> "Remarks on the Nature, Causes, and Cure of Continued Fever, by J. Riddell, Member of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons. Glasgow. Andrew Foulis. 1788. 8°."

We have excluded from our purview medical theses or inaugural dissertations, as these form a kind of literature *sui generis*, wanting, as they do, one of its true elements, spontaneity; nor were they at that time, with a few notable exceptions, of much value. The next Glasgow book of medical interest was

> "A general view of the Natural Progress of Human Life, with Observations on the preservation of health, and the prevention and cure of diseases in the different Stages of Life: By William Henderson, M.D. Part I. Glasgow, James Duncan. 1791." [Pp. xiv.+52. 8°.]

Henderson had published a little work in Edinburgh, 1789 (misprinted in the book 1689), on the *History and Cure of the Plague*. All that is known of him is stated under his name in the Appendix Roll of Members. Nine years later we come upon

> "The Anatomy of the Gravid Uterus, with practical inferences relative to pregnancy and Labour. By John Burns, Surgeon in Glasgow. At the University Press. Printed by James Mundell for Mundell and Son, Edinburgh, &c. 1799." [Pp. xxi.+248. 8°.]

The work is dedicated to Dr. Robert Cleghorn, physician to the Royal Infirmary and lecturer in chemistry of the University of Glasgow, and James Muir, surgeon, Glasgow, and dated from George Street. Next year the same author published

> "Preliminary Dissertations on some of the Laws of the Animal Economy. Dissertations II. on the history, causes and consequences of Simple Inflammation, by John Burns, Surgeon. Glasgow, by James Mundell, Aytoun Court, for John Murdoch, Trongate, &c. 2 vols. 1800." [Pp. xiii., 479, 498. 8°.]

It was dedicated to Dr. Andrew Duncan of Edinburgh. The rest of the works of Dr. John Burns were published in London. There seems to have been no work on medicine published in Glasgow this (nineteenth) century till there appeared *Cases of the Excision of Carious Joints*, by H. Park and P. F. Moreau, with observations by James Jeffray, M.D., Glasgow. J. Scrymgeour. 1806. [210 pp. 12°.]

In 1813 appeared a work which has long been a classic on the

subject on which it treats, and the numerical tables of which have formed a mine from which medical statisticians have frequently dug;

> "Treatise on the History, Nature and Treatment of Chin-cough, including a variety of Cases and Dissections; to which is subjoined an Inquiry into the relative mortality of the Principal Diseases of Children, and the numbers who have died under Ten years of age in Glasgow during the last Thirty years, by Robert Watt, M.D., &c. 8°. Glasgow. John Smith and Son. 1813. Printed by Wm. Lang." [Pp. xvi., 392.]

The dedication is to Sir Gilbert Blane, Physician-in-ordinary to the Prince Regent.

Captain Laskey's *General Account of the Hunterian Museum*, published by John Smith & Son, scarcely comes within our purview; and the same remark may possibly apply to the two books next to be mentioned, but they are given on account of their local interest:

> "Flora Glottiana, a Catalogue of the indigenous Plants on the banks of the River Clyde, and in the neighbourhood of the City of Glasgow, by Thomas Hopkirk, Fellow of the Linnæan Society and Member of the Wernerian Society of Edinburgh. Glasgow. John Smith & Son. 8°. 1813. Printed by Wm. Lang." [Pp. 170.]

Another botanical work by the same pen is

> "Floria Anomoia. A general View of the Anomalies in the Vegetable Kingdom, By Thomas Hopkirk, younger of Dalbeth, F.L.S., M.W.S., &c. Glasgow. John Smith & Son. MDCCCXVII." [Pp. 198. 8°.]

Two years before the appearance of this last book there had been printed in Glasgow a Bible which bears on the title-page to have some degree of medical interest:

> "A revised Translation and Interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures after the Eastern manner from the Concurrent Authorities of the Critics, Interpreters, and Commentators, copies and versions showing that the Inspired Writings contain the seeds of the valuable Sciences, being the source whence the ancient philosophers derived them; also the most ancient Histories and greatest Antiquities; with a Philosophical and Medical Commentary; the use of the Commentary is not to give the sense of the Text, as that is done in the Interpretation, but to describe the work of Nature, showing the connection of Natural Science with Revealed Religion. Glasgow. Printed for and Sold by R. Hutchison & Co. [and a number of other firms in Glasgow, Greenock, Kilmarnock, Port-Glasgow," &c.]. [Pp. ix., 1123. 4to.]

The preface is signed "J. M. Ray," and dated "Lond. 1802." In it, he refers the reader to the commentary on the third chapter of Daniel for an exposition of the "progressive plan of this work, which renders it copyright till the Millennium." A reference to the chapter shows that the "plan" is rather fantastical; and Ray's Bible, both as regards its conception and execution, is one of the curiosities of biblical bibliography.

The next work bears the title

> "An attempt to establish Physiognomy upon Scientific Principles, originally delivered in a series of Lectures. By John Cross, M.D. Glasgow: Printed at the University Press for Andrew and John M. Duncan, Glasgow," &c. 1817. [Pp. 270. 8°.]

The dedication is to Dr. Matthew Baillie. This is a meritorious work for the time, by an observant and thoughtful writer. He was a graduate of the University of Glasgow, and one of those referred to in a former chapter[1] as included as one of the defenders in a test case to decide whether an M.D. as such could practise surgery. Another book by the same author was published two years later—

> "On the Mechanism and Motions of the human foot and leg; By John Cross, M.D. Glasgow. Young, Gallie & Co., for A. & J. M. Duncan, 1819." [Pp. 437. 8°.]

The author describes the work as "physico-theological," and its aim throughout is teleological.

In the year intervening between these two books by Dr. Cross, Glasgow suffered from a violent outbreak of typhus and other fevers, and this called for several pamphlets, the most important of which was:

> "Practical Observations on Continued Fevers, especially that form at present existing as an Epidemic; with some remarks on the most efficient plans for its suppression by Robert Graham, M.D., Glasgow, Regius Professor of Botany in the University of Glasgow, President of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, and one of the Physicians of the Royal Infirmary. J. Smith & Son. 1818." [Pp. 84. 8°.]

Our space forbids the inclusion of the pamphlets on the same subject by Dr. Richard Millar and others. We close this bibliographical sketch with the title of a work on ophthalmology—

> "Memoir of Diseases of the Human Eye, intended for Surgeons commencing practice, from the best National and Foreign works, and in particular those of Professor Beer, with the Observations of the Editor, Dr. Charles H. Weller, and illustrated with cases and Observations. By George C. Monteath, M.D., and Illustrated with plates. Glasgow: printed by R. Chapman, Trongate, for Reid and Anderson, Glasgow." 2 vols. 1821. [Pp. xiii., 280, 310. 8°.]

The dedication, from 15 George Square, is to Dr. Matthew Baillie. The illustrations are by Swan, the noted Glasgow engraver.

During the period under review, the number of books by Glasgow medical men published outside of Glasgow was probably considerably in excess of those brought out within the City. Still it must be said that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the medical men of Glasgow were not

[1] Chapter XVIII. 163.

as a rule, given to the "making of books." As regards the former century, in view of its ceaseless political broils and ecclesiastical heat, this is not to be wondered at. In the eighteenth century some of the Glasgow men who took to writing books, such as Cullen and Moore, were drafted off elsewhere before the period of their literary activity had began.

With a few words on the periodical medical literature of Glasgow we conclude this survey. There was no medical periodical published in Glasgow till February, 1828, when the first number of the *Glasgow Medical Journal* appeared. Before that date the medical periodical press of Edinburgh, and occasionally of London—*The Medical and Philosophical Commentaries*, *Medical Essays and Observations*, *The Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, and *The Lancet*—afforded outlets to the intellectual activities of a few Glasgow men, such as John Paisley, James Calder, Robert Watt, John Burns, and others. *The Glasgow Medical Journal* was started as a quarterly, the editor being Dr. William Mackenzie, who that year retired from the Chair of Anatomy and Surgery in Anderson's College, and who subsequently acquired wide reputation as an oculist and writer on ophthalmology. The first volume was published by David Allan & Co., and the first published list of subscribers numbered nearly three hundred, not a few of them necessarily being outside Glasgow. *The Glasgow Medical Journal* was the pioneer of provincial medical periodicals, being the first published of any in the three kingdoms; but the example set by its promoters was soon followed elsewhere. Thus the *Midland Medical Reporter* was started for the central counties of England, while the *North of England Medical and Surgical Journal* was begun to supply the wants of the border counties; and others followed in a few years.

The new venture had at first a chequered career. Both its editors and its publishers were at first frequently changed. In the fifth volume from the start the editor strongly animadverts on the obstacles placed in his way, the petty personal interests and private animosities of those who should have supported him. On the publication of every number, he says, it was whispered that the journal was moribund. Several times it did die, but had a knack of rising phoenix-like from its ashes in a form not very different. These successive transmigrations constitute a difficulty for indexing and cataloguing purposes. Every fresh redintegration is simply named a "New Series," there being five such series in all, undistinguished numerically. The successive editors of the first of these were Dr. William Mackenzie, Drs. Andrew Buchanan and William Weir, and Dr. J. A. Lawrie. Series the second consists of a single volume, edited jointly by the two last named. The third series did not begin till twelve years later, under the editorship of Dr. William Weir, assisted by Dr. James Steven and others, continued by Dr. George Buchanan and Dr. J. B. Cowan (with whom later Dr. James M'Ghie), Drs. Joseph Bell and William Leishman (the latter

alone), and subsequently by Dr. P. A. Simpson. The fourth series of two volumes inaugurated a change to a monthly issue under the redaction of the last-named gentleman. The fifth and present series, which now numbers forty-four volumes, came out, and has continued, under the auspices of the "Glasgow and West of Scotland Medical Association," called into existence solely to carry on the *Journal*. Under this *régime* the *Journal* has continued to flourish, and has taken its place amongst the accredited organs of medical opinion. This association, in 1889, published a general index to the *Journal*, from its beginning to 1888, in which the various series are distinguished in their sequence by numbers. This index was very carefully compiled by Dr. Malcolm M'Murrich.

The Glasgow Medical Journal had only been three years in existence, and had scarcely surmounted the perils of its infancy, when a rival periodical was started in the City. This was *The Glasgow Medical Examiner*, begun in April, 1831, under the editorship of Mr. J. P. Glen, a licentiate of the Faculty practising in the neighbourhood of St. Andrew's Square. More ambitious than the *Journal*, the *Examiner* was issued monthly, the publisher being John Macleod, Argyle Street. Its origin lay in the same political movement which had called the Faculty of Medicine into existence half-a-dozen years earlier,[1] and of this association it was practically, though not officially, the mouthpiece. Its purpose was avowedly to protest and agitate against what its promoters considered, and not without reason, to be the unjust imposts exacted from licentiates in Glasgow for liberty to practise, and the even more extortionate terms insisted on in the case of members of the corporation. Every town licentiate was charged fifteen guineas in the name of "freedom fine," while the entry money for members had risen from £50 in 1792 to £150 in 1816, with compound interest on the sum for every year the member was above twenty-five. The obligation to enter the Widows' Fund was the cause of this heavy exaction. The general tone of the *Examiner* was accordingly declamatory, and its epithets strong. The contributions of the editor were characterized by adequate knowledge and an incisive vigour of style which marked him as a man of considerable ability, but some of his contributors were merely vulgarly vituperative. The magazine came to an end with the eighteenth monthly issue, but not before the editor was able to congratulate himself and its readers that it had not lived in vain. The Faculty had abolished the obnoxious "freedom fine," and for this reform the *Examiner*, probably with some justice, assumed all the credit.

The Glasgow Medical Examiner of Mr. Glen extended to a volume and a half, the last number appearing in September, 1832; and, oddly enough, in April, 1869, appeared the first number of what the title-page

[1] Chapter XX.

styles "Vol. II." of the same periodical. For this extraordinary Rip Van Winkle feat in bibliography, the new editor, Mr. John Reid, who, like his predecessor in office, Mr. Glen, was a licentiate of the Faculty, was responsible. The singularity of the re-appearance of the *Examiner* was in keeping with the latinity of its new motto, "*Resurgatur cum gloria.*" It was continued in 1870, and expired in 1871, having been discontinued in each year during the summer months. The publisher was James Hadden, Sauchiehall Street, who, it is stated, lived in continual fear of action for libel from his connection with the magazine. Though rather an odd re-incarnation in a bibliographical point of view, there existed between the volume of the *Examiner* of Mr. Glen and that of Mr. Reid, thus separated by an interval of thirty-seven years, a certain congruity of spirit and aim, which went some way to justify the continuity of title. Both first and last the *Examiner* was essentially aggressive, combative, running tilt against what the editors believed to be glaring professional abuses. In the case of the old *Examiner* the mark at which the editorial lance was hurled was irresponsible monopoly, especially as embodied in the Faculty, and to a less extent in the University. But in the generation intervening between the two volumes most of the old abuses had been reformed or modified. Others had, in the view of the editor, taken their place. Specialism in its hydra-headed forms was rampant, and, as a consequence, special hospitals had arisen and were arising on all sides, to fill the pockets of their originators, to beggar the general practitioner, and demoralize the general community. Pluralities in hospital appointments were not uncommon; medical advertising in its subtler forms was rife; and, more deplorable than all in the eyes of the editor, the members of the profession were rushing unthinkingly into belief in a preposterous pathological doctrine unsupported by proof. "Listerism," begotten in Glasgow, with its spawn of "germs," of "spores," and "sporules," its carbolic acid, its antiseptic crudities of all kinds, was now all the rage. Against these and similar pernicious heresies the resuscitated *Examiner* lifted up its voice. Than Mr. John Reid no one was more fearless in the expression of opinions, which, if often narrow and one-sided, and not seldom antiquated, were always honestly held.[1]

[1] See Biographical Notice of Reid, by Dr. J. Lindsay Steven, in the *Glasgow Medical Journal*, May, 1895.

CHAPTER XXII

THE FACULTY LIBRARY

THE library was started in 1698, immediately after the erection of the first Faculty Hall in Trongate. To provide the nucleus of a collection, the members, both town and country, made donations, some of them of a considerable number of volumes, many of which are still on the shelves; and they appear to have also solicited contributions from their lay friends and patients, the names of a number of whom figure in the list of donors. There is preserved in the library a manuscript volume in large folio, which bears to be "Ex dono Joannis Bodie Chirurgorum Facultatis Glasguensis Socii, Septemb 26, M,DC,XC,VIII.," and contains "The names of such worthie persons as have gifted books to the Chierurgions Librarie in Glasgow." The list is appended to this chapter; it includes, as will be seen, not only the names of physician- and surgeon-members of the Faculty (with those of two barbers), but also the names of then well-known Glasgow citizens, such as Sir William Fleming of Farme; "Mr. Hugh Blair, Min^{r} of ye Gospell"; "Mr. Georg Skirban, Rector of the Grammar Schooll"; and others whom we may regard as the patients or friends of members, who made friendly contributions, such as the Earl of Wigton, Lady Barrowfield, elder; James Campbell of Mains, etc. It is noteworthy that as a rule the donations of "outsiders" are non-medical books, and amongst the gifts of members it not unfrequently happens that a book or two of this class are included. It would, therefore, almost appear that the Faculty originally contemplated the formation of a general library. At all events, many of the donations belong to the departments of theology and history, and this class of books must have subsequently been carefully weeded out, none of them being now found on the shelves. Even the "Biblia Sacra Latina," 1532, gifted by "the Mutch Honoured Master Charles Maitland, Brother germane to the Earle of Lauderdale," though it surely might well have been spared, appears to have succumbed to this relentless process of elimination. Several authors of books in London, Edinburgh,

etc., such as Dr. James Douglas, Dr. John Brisbane, Dr. Pitcairn, etc., send contributions of their own works.

Such was the beginning of the library, this nucleus of donations being supplemented by purchases, at first in a very modest scale. The hiatus in the Records draws a veil over the fortunes of the library for thirty years. When the curtain rises in November, 1733, there is no librarian amongst the list of office-bearers, though this must have been an inadvertent omission, as a librarian was probably appointed from the first. At the next election, in 1734, John Paisley, surgeon, was elected "Collector and Bibliothecarius," a very suitable appointment as regards the library, for it is on record that he was the possessor of a good collection of books of his own, and presumably had a knowledge of medical literature.

The Minutes now and again are concerned about the library, and, on 7th December, 1741, "the Visitor produced ane exact catalogue of the Faculty's books in their library," which was signed by the clerk, and, as a rule and standard in time coming, is ordered to be laid up in the box. On 6th October, 1746, Drs. Wodrow and Cullen are, with the Faculty's money and for their use, allowed to purchase such books as they think fit. At the election of office-bearers in 1755, the "Bibliothecarius" blossoms out into a separate office-bearer, and a new catalogue is ordered to be made out. In the record of the same meeting it is minuted that, "from the respect to the memory of Doctor Peter Low, who procured their erection, they appoint the collector to cause the Doctor's book, 'The Whole Art of Chirurgery,' to be new bound, with proper ornaments, and discharge the same from ever being afterwards lent out." This was the fourth edition, a copy of which had been presented to the Faculty by Mr. James Weir, visitor at the time the library was commenced. The binding is a fairly creditable specimen of ornate workmanship by single tool.

In 1762 ten pounds was voted for the formation of a separate collection for the use of students and apprentices, and this was several times referred to and increased in subsequent years, the last entry occurring in 1774. The scheme does not appear to have been very successful.

A library committee was first appointed in 1768, and from that time the library began to expand much more rapidly. Still, at the beginning of the present century there were complaints that the collection was being starved, and £300 was voted in February, 1801, to be expended on books. A catalogue had been printed in 1778, and another was prepared in 1817. In 1820 the number of volumes was estimated as 3,500, and the value of the books is set down in the accounts with punctilious exactitude as £2,102 13s. 4d. This was probably the amount which they had cost; but, had they been brought to the hammer, there would have doubtless been a very considerable shrinkage in the figures. From 1733 to 1845, the sum expended on books, as given in the accounts of 1846, was £5,626 4s. 7d. In 1842 another

edition of the catalogue was prepared under the supervision of Dr. John M. Pagan, which, with two supplements in 1861 and 1871, did duty till 1885, when another catalogue, with a classified index of subjects, was printed. During its progress through the press, the collection of books of the late Dr. William Mackenzie, the eminent oculist, was presented to the Faculty. It is much below the truth to say that under the superintendence of the present Honorary Librarian, the accretions to the library, not only in the way of new literature, but of older works which had been omitted or overlooked, have been not only greater but more systematic, and selected with greater judgment in reference to the efficiency of the collection than at any former period of the same length.

The number of volumes in the collection at the present time approximates to 40,000. The great aim of the successive library committees of the Faculty within the last generation has been to make it a good medical library *all round*, not to pamper one department at the cost of the atrophy of others. The library in this way reflects the composite character of the body. A College of Physicians may naturally incline to give in the selection of their books a distinctly medical colour, on the principle that a full representation of surgical works lies more in the province of the library of a College of Surgeons. From any such defect of lopsidedness, at all events from this cause, the constitution of a Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons happily exempts those who have charge of the library. It is nevertheless true, that from accidental circumstances one or two specialities are better represented than others. In the department of Ophthalmology the library may be said to be exceptionally rich, owing in a great measure to their possession of the Mackenzie collection. In the History of Medicine it also stands well; and when a chair on that branch is founded in the City, the professor will, it is hoped, find an adequate equipment of literature on his subject ready to his hand. As between the scientific or fundamental branches of medicine, and those which are more concerned with practice, the library is much better equipped in the latter than in the former, which lie more within the domain of an academic library. There has been no attempt to narrow the selection to works strictly medical; on the contrary, what may be called the accessory sciences of anthropology, biology, palaeontology, and others, have received recognition as far as has been deemed fitting. General literature is necessarily excluded, though here and there on the shelves is found a straggling representative of this class. On a single point the curators of the library have thought it right to depart systematically from the guiding principle of making the collection distinctively medical. As, historically, one of the city incorporations, the Faculty have considered it befitting that works bearing on the history and progress of Glasgow should find a place on their shelves; while, as a body to which was entrusted by charter jurisdiction over the western counties of Scotland, works bearing

on the history of "our burgh and baronie of . . . Renfrew, Dumbartane, and our Sherriffdomes of Cliddisdale, Renfrew, Lanark, Kyle, Carrick, Air, Cunninghame," are always welcome.

There has been no special attempt to make any collection of medical incunabula, though a few fifteenth and early sixteenth century books are found on the shelves. The earliest printed of these is the *Liber Serapionis aggregatus in Medicinis simplicibus* (Venice, 1479). There is also a copy of the *Opusculus cui nomen Clavus Sanitationis* of Simon Januensis (Venice, 1488). In chronological order comes next a copy of the work of Bartholomaeus Anglicus [de Glanvilla] *Liber de proprietatibus rerum* (Argentine, 1491). There is also a fine copy of the *Lilium Medicinae* of Gordonius, printed at Venice in 1496. Published in 1501 there is a copy of the *Claroficatorium* of Johannes de Tornamira. Recently acquired there is a copy of the first edition of Vesalius, *De humani corporis fabrica* (Basil, 1543). The *Rosa Gallica* of Champerius is represented by the Paris edition of 1514 as well as by later editions; but there is awanting an early edition of the *Rosa Anglica* of John of Gaddesden, which is represented by an edition published by Schopfius in 1595. A few of the books in the library acquire a factitious value from their being very scarce, or from circumstances having special reference to the authorship. A small work whose value is enhanced on both these grounds is the *Spanish Sicknes* of Peter Lowe, whose *Chirurgerie* is represented in the library by copies of all the editions except the first. As an example of a book published so late as 1672, which is rarely met with, is Wiseman's *Treatise of Wounds*. When Sir Thomas Longmore published his biography of him in 1891, he could only ascertain the existence of two copies, one in the British Museum, and the other in the Military Medical Library at Netley. Since then two other copies have been obtained—one by the library of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, and a fourth by the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow, the latter acquired by gift.

The manuscripts in the Library include among others 31 volumes of the Transactions of the Glasgow Medical Society, 1815-45; the Minute Books of the same Society covering the entire period of its existence; the first Minute Book of the Medico-Chirurgical Society of Glasgow, containing its records from 1844 to 1892; the manuscripts of the published work of Dr. Robert Watt on *Chin-cough* and of the *Flora Glottiana* of Thomas Hopkirk, younger, of Dalbeth; copies of volumes of the Lectures of John Hunter, Robert Whytt, John Gregory, and others, presumably as taken down by students; Diary of a Tour and Residence in several Continental Countries, 1816-18, by Dr. William MacKenzie, the eminent writer on Ophthalmology; a volume giving an account of John Hunter's establishment at Earl's Court, of Sir Everard Home's troubles with his publishers, and money accounts of Hunter's estate, by William Clift; a folio volume by an unknown author, entitled *Theoria Medicinae*

Naturalis, in Latin and German, illustrated by quaintly curious pen and ink sketches; and a collection of medical autographs, etc.

It remains only to be said that a Reading Room was added to the library about 1840.

Repeated efforts made by the Faculty during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to form a museum have invariably resulted in failure. The collection of "rarities" in natural history to which occasional references are made in the Minutes of last century appears to have left no trace in the present century. In 1823, and again ten years later, movements towards the institution of a pathological museum resulted in the formation of a considerable nucleus of such a collection. We read of a vote (to be continued annually) of £50 for the museum in the former of these years, and in the latter of a scheme to erect an appropriate building (behind the Faculty Hall) in St. Enoch's Square for the purpose of a museum, with a salaried conservator and other officers, and some considerable progress seems to have been made in the obtaining of specimens, wax models, etc. But the scheme eventually came to nothing, and in 1852, after various resolutions had from time to time been submitted in regard to the "Museum," it was agreed, in the face of a protest by two of the Fellows, to hand over the entire collection to the Pathological Museum of the Royal Infirmary. A communication was accordingly received, dated 3rd January, 1853, from the Pathological Committee of that hospital, thanking the Faculty for the gift, and accepting it "as a substantial proof of the interest taken in the Museum by the Fellows of the Faculty."

The Names of such worthie persons as have Gifted Books to the Chierurgions Librarie in Glasgow.

Doctor Peter Patoune, Praeses To the faculty.
James Weir, present Visitor.
Mr. Henrie Marshall, Chyrurgeon Apothecar.
Mr. Alexander Tran, Chirurgeon Apothecar.
Alexander Porterfield, Chyrurgeon Apothecar.
Alexr. Porterfield of that Ilk.
David Hall, Chyrurgeon Apothecar.
William Thomson, Chyrurgeon Apothecar.
Robert Houstoune, Chirurgeon Apothecar.
Master Robert Houstoune, Chirurgeon Apothecar.
John Boyd, Chyrurgeon Apothecar.
James Robison, Mer[chant].
Robert Graham of Gallengade, Chirurgeon Apothecar.
Alexander Knox, Chyrurgeon Apothecar.
Thomas Hamilton, Chirurgeon Apothecar.
John Hamilton, Chirurgeon Apothecar.
James Calder, Chirurgeon Apothecar.
Robert Robertson, Wryter in Glasgow and Clerk to the ffaculty.
Sir William Fleming of Farme.
Peter Bogill, Mer[chant].
Mr. Hugh Blair, Minr. of ye Gospell, by the Influence of Mr. H. Marshall, bibliothecarius.
John Campbell, Chyr[urgeon] Apothecar.
The Lady Barowfeild, Elder, by the Influence of Mr. H. Marshall, bibliothecarius.
Mrs. Marion Pender.
[1] Mr. Archibald Pitcairn, Doctor of Medicine.
Thomas Napier of Ballikinrain, Chyr[urgeon].
John Moorhead of Brydisholme.
Mr. Alexr. Horsbrough, Chyr[urgeon].
William Wallace, Barber.
James Bell, Barber.
Mr. Matthew Brisbane, Doctor of Medicine.
Mr. William Wright, Doctor of Medicine.
Mr. Thomas Kennedy, Doctor of Medicine.
Mr. James Baird, Doctor of Medicine.
John Melvin, Chyrurgion in Dolluay.
John Bogill, Chyr[urgeon].
Adam Cuningham, Chirurgeon in Greenock.
Andrew Reid, Chyr[urgeon].
William Robertson, Merchant in Glasgow.
Robert Boyd in Banheth.
Mr. Georg Skirban, Rector of the Grammar Schooll.
Robert Baillie, Sone to Mr. Hendry Baillie, Indweller in Glasgow.
John Marshall, Wryter in Glasgow and Clerk to ye Facultie.
John Marshall, Chyrurgeon in Glasgow.
William Stirling, Bailzie of the Regallity of Glassgow.
James Campbell of Mains.
John Naismith.
The Ryt. Honorable The Earle of Wigton, At the Intercession of Mr. Henrie Marshall.
The Mutch Honoured Master Charles Maitland, Brother germane to the Earle of Lauderdale.
Thomas ffalconer, Wryter and Clerk to the Facultie.
John Semple of Dalmook.
Matthew Lamb of Rorkwood, ane member of faculty.
The Reverend Mr. William Jameson.
[1] Doctor James Douglas, Doctor of Medicine at London.
John Munro, Writer in Glasgow and Register of Seasings.
John Wodrow, Doctor of Medicine.
Mr. John Gordon, Surgeon in Glasgow.
[1] Doctor John Brisbane, Physician in London.
[1] Doctor Andrew Morris.
College of Physicians, Edinburgh.

[1] Author of the Works presented.

APPENDICES

I.

CHARTER BY KING JAMES VI. TO THE FACULTY OF PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS OF GLASGOW.[1]

JAMES, be the Grace of GOD, King of Scottis, to all Provostis, baillies of burrowis, scheriffs, stewartis, baillies of regalities, and otheris ministeris of justice within the boundis following, and their deputis, and all and sundrie otheris ouir leigis and subditis, quhom it efferis, quhase knawledge thir our letteris sal cume, greiting, WIT ZE WE, with auise o oure counsall, understanding the grit abuisis quhilk hes bene comitted in time bigane, and zit daylie continuis be ignorant, unskillit and unlernit personis, quha, under the collour of Chirurgeanis, abuisis the people to their plesure, passing away but tryel or punishment, and thairby destroyis infinite number of oure subjectis, quhairwith na ordour hes bene tane in tyme bigane, specially within oure burgh and baronie of Glasgow, Renfrew, Dumbartane, and oure Sheriffdomes of Cliddisdale, Renfrew, Lanark, Kyile, Carrick, Air and Cunninghame; FOR avoiding of sik inconvenientis, and for gude ordoure to be tane in tyme cuming, to have made, constitutit and ordanit, and be the tenoure of thir oure letteris, makis, constitutis, and ordinis Maister Peter Low, our Chirurgiane and chief chirurgiane to oure dearest son the Prince, with the assistance of Mr. Robert Hamiltone, professoure of medecine, and their successouris, indwelleris of our Citie of Glasgow, GEVAND and GRANTAND to thaime and thair successoures, full power to call, sumonnd, and convene before thame, within the said burgh of Glasgow, or onie otheris of ouir said burrowis, or publict places of the foirsaids boundis, all personis professing or using the said airt of Chirurgie, to examine thame upon thair literature, knawledge and practize; gif they be fund wordie, to admit, allow, and approve thame, give them testimonial according to the airt and knawledge that they sal be fund wordie to exercise thareftir, resave thair aithis, and authorize thame as accordis, and to discharge thame to use onie farder nor they have knawledge passing thair capacity, laist our subjectis be abusit; and that every ane citat report testimonial of the minister and eldris, or magistratis of the parochin quhair they dwell, of thair life and conversatione; and in case they be contumax, being lauchfullie citat, everie ane to be unlawit in the soume of fortie pundis, toties quoties, half to the judges, other half to be disponit at the visitoures plesure; and for payment thairof the said Mr. Peter and Mr. Robert, or visitoures, to have oure uthere letteris of horning, on the partie or magistriates quhair

[1] From a Notarial Copy in the Possession of the Faculty.

the contemptuous personis duellis, chargeing thame to poind thairfoire, within twentie four houris, under the pain of horning; and the partie not haveand geir poindable, the magistrate, under the same pain, to incarcerate thame, quhill cautioun responsall be fund, that the contumax persone sall compir at sik day and place as the saidis visitouris sall appoint, gevan trial of thair qualifications; *Nixt*, that the saidis visitouris sall visit everie hurt, murtherit, poisonit, or onie other persoun tane awa extraordinarly, and to report to the Magistrate of the fact as it is: *Thirdlie*, That it sall be leisum to the said visitouris, with the advice of their bretheren, to mak statutis for the comoun weill of our subjectis, anent the saidis artis, and using thairof faithfullie, and the braikeris thairof to be punshit and unlawit be the visitoures according to their falt: *Fordlie*, It sall not be leisum to onie mannir of personis within the foresaidis boundis to exercise medicine without ane testimonial of ane famous universitie quhair medecine be taught, or at the leave of oure and oure dearest spouse chief medicinarie; and in case they failzie, it sal be lesum to the saidis visitouris to challenge, perseu and inhibite thame throu using and exercing of the said airt of medecine, under the pain of fourtie poundis, to be distributed, half to the Judges, half to the pure, toties quoties they be fund in useing and exercing the same, ay and quhill they bring sufficient testimonial as said is: *Fythlie*, That na manir of personis sell onie droggis within the Citie of Glasgow, except the sam be sichtit be the saidis visitouris, and be William Spang, apothecar, under the pane of confiscatioune of the droggis: *Sextlie*, That nane sell retoun poison, asenick, or sublemate, under the pane of ane hundred merkis, excep onlie the apothecaries quha sall be bund to tak cautioun of the byaris, for coist, skaith, and damage: *Seventlie*, Yat the saidis visitouris, with thair bretherene and successouris, sall convene every first Mononday of ilk moneth at sum convenient place, to visite and give counsell to pure disaisit folkis gratis: and *last of all*, Gevand and grantand to the saidis visitouris indwellers of Glasgow, professouris of the saidis airtis, and thair bretherene, p"nt and to cum, imunite and exemptioune from all wappin shawengis, raidis, oistis, beiring of armour, watching, weirding, stenting taxationis, passing on assises, inquestis, justice courtis, scheriff or burrow courtis, in actiounes criminal or cival, notwithstanding of oure actis, lawis, and constitutionis thairoff, except in geving yairr counsall in materis appertaining to the saidis airtis: ORDAINING you, all the foresaidis provestes baillies of burrowis, sheriffis, stewartis, baillies of regalities, and otheris ministeris of justice, within the saidis boundis, and zoure deputis, to assist, fortifie, concur and defend the saidis visitouris, and their posterior, professouris of the foresaidis artis, and put the saidis actis maid and to be maid to executioun; and that our otheris letteris of our sessioun be granted thereupon to charge thame to that effect within twentie four houris nixt after they be chargit thairto. GEVIN under oure previe seill, at Haliruid house, the penult day of November, the zeir of God jmvc. and fourscore ninetein zeiris, and of oure regun the threttie thre zeir.

(Written on the Tag thus)
Litera Mag"ri Petri Low, Chirurgi
Et Mag"ri Roberti Hamiltone
Professoris Medicinæ

Per Signaturam manu S. D. N. Regis, nec non manibus Dominorum Ducis Lennoxæ Thesaurarii ac Scaccarii Dicti Domini Regis Subscriptam.

(Written on the back thus)
Written to the Privie Seil, Penult Novembr 1599.
J. HAY.

Locus Sigill

II.

GENERAL SIGNET LETTERS, THE SURGEONS OF GLASGOW *AGAINST* THE MAGISTRATES, AND ALL AND SUNDRY.

Dated 31st July, Signeted 14th August 1635.

CHARLES, be the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, to our lovittis, JOHN RAMSAY, messenger,

our Sheriffs in that part conjunctlie and severallie, speciallie constitut, greeting.—Forasmeikle as we understanding the great abusis qlk hes bein committit in tyme bygane, and zitt daylie continues, in ignorant unskillit and unlearnit personis quha hes, under the culler of chyrurgeans abuseit our leidges att yair pleasor, passing away but tryell or punishment and yrby destroying infinit members of our subjects, quarof na order hes taken in tyme bygane, speciallie within our burgh and baronie of Glasgow, sheriffdoms and burghs of Renfrew, Paisley, Dumbartane, Clydesdaill, Lanerk, Kayll, Carrick, and Cunynghame; and also understanding that our umqu^{l} deirrest father, King James of worthie memorie, for avoyding of sic inconvenients, and for order to be tane yairanent in tyme coming, be his Hieness l'res of gyft under his Hieness Privie Seall, made y'rupon of the dait att Holirudhouse, the penult day of November the zeir of God jajv and foirscore and nineteen zeirs, made, constituted, and ordainit the visitour in the said airt and calling of chirurgeonrie in our burgh Glasgow, and his successors, indwellers in the said burgh, Commissioners to the effect underw^{n}, Giveand and Grantand to them full power to call, summond, and convein before them within our said burgh of Glasgow, or any oy'r of our saidis burrowes or publick places of the foirsaidis boundis, all persones professing or useing the said airt of chirurgeonrie, to examine them upon yair literator, knawledge, and practice, give they be fund worthie, to admitt, allow, and approve them, give them testimoniall according to the airt and knowledge that they sall be fund worthie to exercise, y'rafter ressave yair aithes, and authorise them as accords; and to discharge them to use any furder nor they have knowledge or passing yair capacitie, leist our subjectis be abuseit, and that every ane citat report testimoniall of the minister and elders, or Magistrates of the parochine q^{r} they dwell of y^{r} life and conversatione, and in caise they be contumax being lawfullie citat, everie ane to be oulawit in the soume of fourtie pundis, *toties quoties*, half to the judges, the uther half to dispone at the visitoures pleasour; and for pay^{t} y'rof they to have l'res of horning on the partie or Magistrates q^{r} the contemptuous persones dwelles, chargeing theim to poynd yairfor within twentie-foure hours, under the paine of horning, and the pairtie not haveand geir poyndable, the Magistrate under the same paine to incarcerat them qu^{l} cautioun responsall be fund that the contumax person sall compeir att the day and place as the said visitors shall appoynt, giveand tryell of y^{r}. qualificatioun; and that the saidis visitors shall visit everie hurt, murderit, poysoneit, or uther persone tane away extraordinarilie, and to report to the Magistrates of the fact. Thirdly, That it shall be leisome to the saidis visitours with advice of

yair brethren, to mak statutis for the common weill of our subjectis anent the saidis airtes and useing yairof faithfullie, and the breakers thairof to be punishit and unlawit to the visitors according to the fact. Fourtlie, It shall not be leisome to ony maner of persones within the foirsaidis boundis, to exercise medicine without ane testimoniall of ane famous Universitie q^r^. medicine is taught, or at the leive of our said umq^l^. deirest father, and our umq^l^. deirest mother of worthie memoire, thair chief medicinaries, and in caise they failzie, it soud be leisome to the saidis visitours to challenge, persue, and inhibit thaim throw useing and exercing of the said airt of medicine, under the paine of fourtie pundis, to be distributeit half to the judge, and half to the poor, *toties quoties* they be fund useing and exerceising of the same, ay and quhill they bring sufficient testimonialls as said is. Fyftlie, That na maner of persone sell ony drogis within our citie of Glasgow, except the samyn be sightit be the saidis visitors, under paine of confiscatioun of the druggis. Saxtlie, That nane sell ratine poyseing, arsenick, or sublimate, under the paine of ane hundreth merkes (except only the apothecaries quha shall be bund to take cautioune of the buyers for cost, skaith, and dammage.) Seventlie, That the saidis visitores, with their bretheren and successors, shall conveine everie first Mononday of ilk moneth, att some convenient place, to visit and give counsell to puir desaisit folkis gratis; And last of all, givene and grantit to the saidis visitors, indwellers of Glasgow, professors of the saidis airtis, and their bretherene in pr^n^t and to cum, immunitie and exemptioun frae all weipin shawingis, readdis, hostis, wearinge of armour, watching, wardeing, stenting, taxatiounes, passing on assayesses, inquestis, justice courtis, sheriff or burrow courtis, in actiouns criminall or civill, notwithstanding of our said umqhil dearrest father, his hienes actis, callis and constitutiones made, grantit (exceptin gieveing y^r^. counsell in matters appertaining to the saidis airtis), ordeineing all and sundrie provestis, baillies of burrowes, sheriffs, stewartis, bailyies of regalities, and oy^r^. ministers of justice within the saidis boundis, and their deputtis, to assist, fortifie, concur, and defend the saidis visitours and thair posteritie, professores of the foirsaidis airtis, and to putt the saidis actis made and to be made to due executioun; and that l'res be grantit thairupon to charge them to that effect, within twentie four hours next after they be chargeit thairto; as in the saidis l'res of gift and commissioun under the privie seall, made and grantit yrupon, of the dait above w^n^. in favours of the saidis visitors in the said airt and calling of chirurgianrie within our said burgh and citie of Glasgow, and thair successoris att mair lenth is conteint, q^t^upon our lovitt, Mr James Hamiltoun, chirurgian, burges of our said burgh of Glasgow, p'nt visitor in the said airt and calling of chirurgerie within the samyn burgh of Glasgow, for himself, and in name and behalf of the remanent bretherin and freemen of the said airt and calling, and thair successores, obteinit ane decreit before the Lords of our Counsell and Sessioun, upon the last day of July last bypast, the zeir of God jayvi and threttie-fyve zieris, against all and sundrie persones quatever, professing or useing the saidis airtis of Chirurgianrie or medicine within our said burgh and baronie of Glasgow, sheriffdomes, and burrowes of Renfrew, Dumbartan, Clyddisdaill, Lanerk, Air, Kyle, Carrick, and Cunynghame, and also ag^t^. the provestis and bailzies of burrows, sheriffs, stewartis, bailies of regalities, and

other ministers of justice qu'sumevir, within the saidis boundis, decerning and ordaining thir our l'res of horning to be direct upon ane single charge of three dayes allenarlie, chargeing all and sundrie the saidis persones qu'sumever professing or using the saidis airtis of chirurgianrie or medicine within the bounds foresaidis in generall, or be thair name in speciall as they shall be requirit, to desist and cease frae all useing or usurping of the saidis artis of chirurgeanrie or medicine within the boundis forsaidis of our said burgh and barronie of Glasgow, sheriffdomes, and burrowes of Renfrew, Dumbartane, Clyddisdaill, Lanerk, Air, Kyle, Carrick, and Cunynghame, except they be examined be the said Mr James Hamiltoune, p'nt visitour foresaid, in the said airt and calling of chirurgianrie and medicine within our said burgh of Glasgow, and be his bretherin in the said airt, and thair successors, upon thair literator, knowledge and practice, and admittit, allowit, and approvit be them as being fund worthy, and y^{r} testimoniallis given to them according to thair knawledge, that they shall be fund worthie to exercise y^{r}aftir, thair aithes ressevit, and authorized be the said visitor and his breitherin of the said airt and their successoris, as accords, and also dischargeing them to use anie farder, nor that they have knowledge laist our leidges and subjectis be abusit, and siclyke dischargeing thaim to exerce ony medicine in the boundis foirsaidis, without the testimoniall of ane famous universitie quhair medicin is taught, or at the leif of our, or our deirrest spous' chieff medicinaries, under the said paine of fourtie pundis, *toties quoties* to be dystributeit half to the poore, and half to the judge, and also that they on no wayes sell any droges within our said burgh of Glasgow, except the samyn be syghtet be the said p'nt visitor, and his successores visitors of the said airt, under the paine of confiscatioune of the saidis drogis; and that they sell no ratone poyson, arsenick, or sublimate, under the said paine of ane hundreth merkis,—except only the apothecaries wha shall be bund to take cawtioun of the buyers for cost, skaith, and dammage; and also that they usurpe nor doe nothing in contrair the tenour of the saidis l're of gift and commission, and to obtemper and obey the samyn in all poyntis, after the forme and tenor thairof: And in like manir, chargeing all and sundrie the saidis Provest and Baillies of burrowes, Sheriffis, Stewartis, Bailzies of regalities, and utheris Ministeris of Justice qu'tsumever, within the saidis boundis, and their deputtis, to assist, fortifie, concure, and defend the said Mr James Hamiltoune, p'nt visitor foresaid, and his breitherin, and their successoris, professoris of the saidis artis, and to put their actis made and to be made thairanent to due execution, conforme to the foirssaids l'res of gift and commissioun grantit thairupon, in all pointis, as in the said decreit att more lenth is conteinit.—Our will is herefore, and we chairge you straitlie, and commandis, that incontinent thir our l'res seen you pass, and in our name and authoritie, command and charge all and sundrie the foirsaidis persones q'tsomevir, professing and useing, or usurping the saidis airtis of chirurgianrie and medicine, within the boundis above specified in general, or be their names in speciall, as they shall be requireit, be open proclamatioun at the mercat croces of our burrowes of Glasgow, Lanark, Rutherglen, Renfrew, Paislay, Dumbartan, Air, Irving, and uther places neidfull, to desist and cease frae all useing or usurping of the saidis airtis of chirurgeanrie or medicine, within the boundis foirsaidis of our said burgh and

baronie of Glasgow, sheriffdomes burrowes of Renfrew, Dumbartan, Clidisdaill, Lanerk, Air, Kyle, Carrick, and Cunynghame, except they be examined be the said Mr James Hamiltoune, p'nt visitor foresaid in the said airt and calling of chirurgeanrie and medicin within our said burgh of Glasgow, and his bretheren of the said airt, and thair successores, upon thair literator and knowledge to practize, and admittit, allowit, and approvit be them, as being fund worthie, and y'r testimoniall given to them, according to their airt and knowledge, that they shall be fund worthie to exercise yaireafter, their aithes ressevit, and authorised be the said visitor and his bretherene of the said airt, and thair successores, as accordis: And also that ye, in our name and authoritie, inhibit and discharge them to use ony farder nor that y'rof they have knowledge and capacitie, laist our leidges and subjectis be abuseit; and sicklike, that ye discharge them to exerce ony medicine within the boundis foirsaidis, without the testimoniall of ane famous Universitie, q'r medicine is taught, or att the leife of our and our dearrest spous chieffe mediciners, under the said paine of fourtie pundis, to be distributeit, half to the poore and half to the judge, *toties quoties*; and also, that they on no wayes sell ony droges within our said burgh of Glasgow, except the samyn be sightet be the said p'nt visitor, and his successores visitors of the said airt, under the paine of confiscatioun of the saidis drogis,—and that they sell no rattoun poysoun, arsenick, or subleim, under the said paine of ane hundredth merks, except onlie the apothecaries, wha shall be bund to tak cawtioun of the buyers, for cost, skaith, and dammage; and also, that they usurp nor doe nothing in contrair of the tenour of the saidis l'tres of gift and commissioun grantit be our said umq^{l} dearrest father y'ranent, but to obtemper and obey the samyn in all pointis, efter the forme and tenour foirsaid: And in like manner, that ye, in our name and aut'hie, command and charge all and sundrie the saidis Provestis and Bailzies of burrowes, Sheriffis, Stewartis, Bailzies of regalities, and uther Ministers of Justice q'tsumever, within the saidis boundis, any y^{r} deputtis, to assist, fortifie, concur, and defend the said Mr James Hamiltoune, p'nt visitor foirsaid, and his bretheren, and y^{r} successoris, professores of the saidis airtis, and to put y^{r} actis made and to be made y'ranent, to due execution, conforme to the foirsaidis l'res of gift and commissioun grantit to them y'rupon, and decreet abovew^{s}, obteinit be them upon the saymne, in all pointis, within three dayes next after they be chargeit be you thairto, under the paine of rebellioun, and putting of them to our horne; qlk if they refuse to doe, the saidis three dayes being bypast, that ye incontinent y'reafter denounce the disobeyers our rebelles, and put them to our horne, and escheat and inbring all y^{r} moveable goodis to our use, for y^{r} contemptioun and rebellioun foirsaid; and immediatlie after yo^{r} said denounciatioun, that ye use the haill remanent order prescryvit be our act of Parliament made y^{r}anent.—According to justice, as ye will answer to us y'rupon. The qulk to doe we co'mitt to you, conjunctlie and severallie, our full power be thir our l'res of horning, delivering them be you duely execut and indorsed again to the bearer. Given under our signett att Edin^{r}, the last day of July, and of our reigne the eleventh yeir, 1635.

Per Decretum D'norum Concilii.

(Signed) JA. WILSON.

(*Signeted*) 14*th August* 1635. *Written be* MR WILLIAM PURVES, *my Serv^{r}*.

III.

LETTER OF DEACONRY.

To all and sundrie quhome it effeiris, to quhois knowledge thir present lettres sall cum, we, Johne Andersoune, provest, Johne Andersoune, Johne Walkingschaw and Williame Neilsoune, bailleis, of the brughe of Glasgow, senatouris and counselleris of the samyn, greiting in God everlasting. Wit your vniversiteis and all vtheris quhome it may concerne, that ther compeirit befoir ws, sittand in our counsell hous, Johne Hall, present headis man or dekine of the chirurgianis and barbouris within the samyn, for himself and in name and behalf of the saids chirurgianis and barbouris, and did oft divers and sundrie tymis present to ws and our counsell, gatherit togither, thair bill and supplicatioune vnderwrittin, off the quhilk the tenour fallowis:—Wnto the right honourabill the provest, bailleis and counsall of Glasgow, the humbill petitioune of your servandis and comburgessis, the chirurgianis and barbouris, residenteris within the said citie, and humblie scheweth that quhair thes fyftie seaven yeiris past, since the patent grantit to ws of the dait the penult day of November, j^{m} v^{c} [ninety[1]] nine yeiris, by the deceist King James, to your awin and your predicessoris knowledge, we have bein in vse yeirlie to elect ane deacon as visitour and oversiear of the rest of the members of our calling, as vthers calling have bein in vse be vertew of any patent letter of dekinheid or seall of caus conferit vpone them heirtofoir by any authoritie, and that it is incumbent to ws to have ane lettre of dekinrie of your honowris, as vtheris of this incorporatioune have grantit to them by your predicessoris, for ane joynt and hermoneus correspondence of brotherhood as brother citizens willing to simpatheise with the rest of the bodie of the citie, wherintill we sall be concernit to the extent of our power, with the lyk priviledgis and liberteis as that your authoritie may be interponit thairto, and we authorized thairby to vse such power, observe such courssis and custumes as vther callings have grantit to them by thair lettre of deaconheid or seale of caus, that we convein at the ordinarie tyme as vther callings doe, yeirlie befoir Michaellmes, in our ordinarie place of meiting, in all tyme cumying, and thair be pluralitie of voitis, as wse is, elect and mack choyse of ane of our number to be visitour or deacon for ane yeir thairefter to cum, quho sall be ane of the most fite and qualified and worthiest of the said calling, ane chirurgiane and burges of the brughe, and he being sworne *de fideli administratione* may appoynt meitings for conveining the calling, caus quartermaisters be electit, the one half of his awin nominatioune and the vther half by the calling itself, quho sall be authoreized to imped any persoune quhatsumevir, by concurse of your honouris, to presume to exerceis any poynt of the arte of chirurgianrie or barbourie, or sett out any signis for ather of them, till he be tryed and admittit be the said calling in maner of tryall as schall be prescryvit, being first admittit burges of the toune. Nixt, that ane burges sone serveing his prenteischipe fyve yeiris as ane prenteis and twa yeiris for meit and

[1] The word "fyftie" is, by mistake, inserted in the record of the Town Council.

fie, pay [fortie][1] merkis Scottis at his admissioune for his vpsett, and anie strainger entering with the said calling, first being burges, to pay for his admissioun four scoir merkis for the vse of the poore of the calling. Thridlie, that no free mane vsurpe the haveing of any mae prenteissis nor one during the saids seavin yeiris without expres warrand from the visitour and quarter maisteris. Fourtlie, that the said calling may fayne any vsurper that exerceissis the saids artis, without thair admissioune, tollerance and licentiatioune, in the soume of ten punds Scottis *toties quoties*, appropriating the one half to the bailleis of the citie and the vther half to the box of the calling. Fyftlie, that the visitour for the tyme appoynt dyets of four heid courtis or meitings of the calling, and oftner *pro re nata*, and caus poynd the absentis in half ane merk each tyme for the vse of the poore. Sextlie, that no friemane mak vse of ane vnfrie mane wnder his tollerance, wnder the paine of ane new vpsett; nather tack ane vther freamanis prenteis without his former masters leave askit and grantit, vnder the lyke pain. Seavintlie, that no freamane presume to tack ane vther freamanis cuir af his hand wntill he be honestlie satisfied and payit for his bygaine painis, and that at the sight of the bailleis with advyce of the visitour incaice the patient find himself grived by the chirurgiane, vnder the paine of ane new vpsett, excepting alwayis libertie to the visitour and quarter masters to tack patientis from ane friemane not fund qualified for the cuiring of them and to put them to ane more qualified persoune as sall be thoght expedient efter exact tryall. Eightlie, that if any member of the calling, of quhatsumevir qualitie, contempner of the visitour and his quartermasters in any of the poyntis afoirsaid, or of thair officer in executioune of thair office, quho is to be the last entrant frea men of the calling and is to remaine till ane vther enter, pay ane new vpsett according to that he payit at his entrie to be qualified be the recordis of the calling. Nyntlie, that no brother within the said calling presume to meddill with any mae poyntis of chirurgianrie nor thais they ar fund qualified of at thair admissioune and conforme as they ar booked, vnder the paine of the soumes abovewrittin respective as ane new vpsett. And, lastlie, that the said visitour or deakin may judge betwixt maister and prenteis, at the bailleis sight, in caice any differ of importance aryse, and betwixt brother and brother of the calling in particularis allenerlie relaiting thairto, and give ordour to poynd absentis from courtis and buriallis, being warned for that effect, and for not payment of quarter coumptis. May it therfore pleas your honowris, the premissis being considderit, to grant ane lettre of deaconrie or seall of caus to the said calling, wnder the seall of the brughe, and that in regaird of our being so long a standing pairt of the craftis of this citie and contributers yeirlie in a constant proportioune for the supplie of the poore of thair hospitall, to caus extend the same, conforme to the laudabill custume observit, to ws and our successoris, chirurgianis and barbouris, burgessis of this citie, and to grant to ws the priviledges and liberties afoirsaid grantit to vtheris callings, as is above expresit in all poyntis, for removeing of the disordouris that may aryse. And your lordschipes ansuer [etc.] Quhilkis articles and statutis above writtin, being oft tymis red, hard, wnderstand and maturlie advysit be ws, the saids provest, bailleis and counsell of this

[1] This sum, which is left blank in the record, is inserted in the seal of cause in the possession of the Incorporation of Barbers.

brughe of Glasgow, and we finding the samyn to tend to the weill of the people als weill within as without the brughe, and to the benefeit of the said airte and craft of chirurgianis and barbouris, wee thairfore, be thir presents, grant, ratifie, approve and confirme the samyn, for ws and our successours, in the haill headis, articles, and claussis contained in the said supplicatioune above writtin, to the said Johne Hall, present deacon of the said chirurgianis and barbouris, and thair present brethrein of that arte and craft, and to thair successouris, chirurgianis and barbouris, burgessis of this brughe, in perpetwall memorie in all tyme cumyng, promiseand faithfullie to fortifie and defend them thairanent be ws and our successouris and office bearers for the tyme; and thir premissis to all and sundrie quhome it effeiris we mak manifest and knowin. In witnes of the quhilk, and for the mair verificatioune of the samyn, we have subscryvit thir presentis, togither with our clark depute of court, our commoune seall is heirto appendit, at Glasgow, the [sexteenth] day of August ane thousand sex hundreth fyftie sex yeiris.

IV.

RATIFICATION OF KING JAMES' CHARTER TO THE FACULTY OF PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS OF GLASGOW.

AT Edinburgh, the elevent day of September one thousand six hundreth seventie-two years, OUR SOVERANE LORD, with advice and consent of his Estates of Parliament, now presentlie conveened be his Majestie's speciall authoritie, hes RATIFIED AND APPROVEN, and be thir presents ratifies and approves ane Letter of Gift past under the privy seal of the date at Halyrudehouse, the penult day of November 1599 years, whereby his Majestie's grandfather, of blessed memorie, for avoyding of inconveniences, and for good order to be tane in tyme comeing, within the burgh and baronie of Glasgow, gave and granted full power to the chirurgeans and professors of medicine within the city of Glasgow for the tyme, and their successors, to call and convien before them within the said burgh of Glasgow, or any other place of the bounds foresaid, contained in the said Gift, all persones professing or using the art of chirurgerie, to examine them upon their literature, knowledge, and practice; if they be fund wordie, to admit, allow and approve them, give them testimoniell according to their arte and knowledge to exerce thereafter, receave their oaths, and authorise them as accords; and that it shall not be leisum to any maner of persons within the forsaids bounds, to exercise medecine, without ane testimoniell of ane famous universitie, wher medecine is taught, or at leist the persons above mentioned, and their successors, under the pains contained in the said Gift; and that no maner of persons sell any drogs within the city of Glasgow, except they be sighted be the forsaids persons, under the paine of confiscation of the drogs; and that no ratton poyson be sold, except by the apothecarles, who shall be bund to take caution

of the buyers, for coast, skaith, and damage, as the said Letter of Gift, in the selft at more length proports, IN THE HAIL HEIDS, clauses, articles, and circumstances of the samen, and after the forme and tenor thairof, in all points, in so far as the samen Gift, and this present Ratification thereof, can be extendit in favours of the present chirurgians, apothecaries and barbours within the said burgh of Glasgow, and their successors allenerlie, and no further: And his Majestie and Estates of Parliament, wills, grants and declares, that this present generall Ratification shall be als valeid and sufficient to the said chirurgians apothecaries and Barbours, and their successors allenerlie, as said is, as if the said Gift wer word be word heir engrossed, notwithstanding the samen be not so done, wherewith his Majestie and Estates of Parliament hes dispensid, and be thir presents dispenses forever.

Extracted furth of the Records of Parliament be me, Sir ARCHIBALD PRIMROSE, of Cairntoun, Knight and Baronet, Clerk to his Majestie's Councill, Registers and Rolls.

(Signed) A. PRIMROSE,
Clr. Reg.

V.

NOTANDA ANENT THE GLASGOW POOR.

IT is noticeable and natural that during the period of the visitations of Glasgow by the Plague in the seventeenth century, and when infection was threatened from other quarters, that many Minutes are to be found in the Town Council records of a more explicit and stringent character respecting the poor than are to be found at any other time.

It happens also that about this time so great an immigration of Irish takes place that the number of poor is so appreciably increased that special provision is made for their support,[1] and as the means at command of the bailies was apparently insufficient for this extra charge, they, on the 5th March following, "ordane ane proclamation to be sent throw the toune to desyre all these who will geve or contribute any supplie to the distressed people that cum from Ireland, that they cum upon Wednesday next at the ringing of the Bells."

A great influx of Highlanders also takes place at this time,[2] a special collection being ordered to be made on their behalf in the High, Blackfriar, and New or Tron Churches, which is supplemented by the bailies, but the Highlanders are much more summarily dealt with than the Irish strangers; a Minute on 12th December, 1642, peremptorily ordering them "to be removit off the toune on Monday next," there being, however, charitably added an order "to give everie one of them some meil for their supplie."

[1] 12th February, 1642. [2] 7th November, 1646.

Prior to the Reformation the endowments for behoof of the Poor in Glasgow are said to have been very munificent,[1] but with Presbyterianism came the dilapidation of many charitable, as well as religious mortifications.

Little necessity had probably previously existed; but on 30th August, 1583,[2] we find for the first time the appointment of a "Collector for the Poor," to stand at the Laigh Kirk door "to receive alms of town's folk that go into the said Kirk to hear preaching," and on 3rd July, 1595, from the Records of the Session,[3] that an assessment termed on the margin of the Record, "Buttock mail for poor householders," is for the first time imposed, a Committee being at the same time appointed to consider the Roll of persons in the town liable to be stented for the purpose. In the year 1652[4] it appears that the whole Roll of the Poor amounted to £437 Scots (£36 8s. 4d. stg.), the Magistrates stenting the town for £300, and leaving the balance to be made good by ordinary collection.

Subsequent to the incursion of Irish and Highlanders, we find in the year 1663,[5] before the ravages of the Plague had reduced the number, and when the population of Glasgow amounted to about 15,000 souls, that £20 stg. sufficed for the annual maintenance of such poor—then thought to be very numerous—as could not support themselves by licensed begging.

In Glasgow at this time, following an ancient custom, under which certain favoured "gaberlunzies," recognizable by their blue gowns, were accredited as "King's Beggars," the Magistrates adopted the principle of the Act, 1579, cap. 74, which declared each parish in Scotland to be liable only for the support of its own poor, or rather of that limited number of them below fourteen and above the age of three score years and ten, whom the Act carefully stipulates must be first found unable to support themselves all others between these ages seeking aid being designed as "vagabounds, sturdy and idle beggars."

The Act, somewhat quaintly, points these out to the unwary as to be known "from their going about the countrie using subtile, craftie, and unlauchful playes, such as juglarie, fast and lous, Ægyptians, Minstrells, Sangsters, and Taletellers, not avowed in special service, vagabound Schollers of the Universities of Saint Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdein," and a further category, who are all ordained to be summarily apprehended, "committed in waird Stokes or irons," and, when convicted, "to be scourged and burned throw the ear with ane hot irone," for the first, and for the next offence "to suffer the paines of death as a thief."

The judgment of the Bailie Court in 1613,[6] in the case of Matthew Thomson, a Highland fiddler, "put out of the town at the West Port, and banist the same for ever," as being "ane idill vagabond," illustrates the Magistrates' adoption of the penal portion of the statute. Their enactment of its provisions relative to pauperism occurs on 5th May, 1586, when it is ordained "that all poor be marked with the Towns mark, that they have been within this toune, remaining and lodging for fyve years bypast";[7] and again, on 16th December, 1667, when a Minute

[1] Cleland's *Statistics*, *sub voce* "Poor,' 107. [2] *Ibid.*, Appendix, 168.
[3] *Ibid.*, Appendix, 172. [4] 27th December. Cleland's *Statistics*, Appendix.
[5] 14th March. [6] Cleland's *Statistics*, Appendix. [7] 25th July.

appears, narrating "how that this haill citie is greatlie over burdened with ane number of beggars, all strangers, quhilk ought not to be permitted in any well-governed citie," and therefore ordaining "the whoill beggars, being strangers, to be removed off the toune, and that none be permittit to beg therein but such as are well known to have been borne within the Citie, and to the effect they may be better known, appoints ane badge with the tounes armes thereon to be raised and given to each one who is suffered to beg, and that none be suffered to beg except such as hes the said badge."

Stringent regulations were also enacted on 9th June, 1658, anent "sturdie beggars," an arrangement being "thocht expedient to be entered into with William Lightbodie and John Williamsone, twa warkmen, to put the sturdie beggars and otheris the lyk off the toune, and to punish delinquents by putting them on the Cock Stool"; but as this office seems to have been attended with personal hazard, it is enacted "that quhat persone in toune sall wrang or abuis the said William Lightbodie and John Williamsone for executing of the premises sall be condignelie and severelie punished be sight of the Magistrates," to whom a remit is accordingly made to carry this desirable object into effect. Apparently, however, the wage was considered by the "twa warkmen" as incommensurate with the risk of bodily harm from the "Sturdy beggars," and a higher rate consequently bargained for. The next Minute by the Magistrates, on 10th April, 1662, reporting that they "had agreed with John Williamsone and William Lightbodie, to keep the beggars aff the casay," three men being found necessary to be employed in the following year,[1] and to "pay to ilk ane of them monethlie, and ordanis ilk ane of them to carie ane staff throw the towne as they walk, having the townes armes thereupon."[2]

The terms of the following Minute on the Glasgow Poor are so quaint, and, at the same time, so forcibly illustrate the then condition of the Poor Law establishment in Glasgow, that it would be a mistake to condense them, viz.: "The same day the Magistrats and Counsell taking to their consideration hou that, for all the paines takin, the poor in toune being so numerous, and the contributioune allotit for their monethlie mentinance being so little, and cannot be gottin in timeouslie, notwithstanding of all the great paines and expenss waired on upon twa men and several Officers to attend them in collecting thereof; as also how they are very many persons in the contribution Rolls who vexis the Magistrats daylie with their complents thereanent, crying out that they have nothing to pay, and had neid of contributions themselfes, and zit for all that their pots, pannes, stoups, and uthir their houshold geir is poyndit for the same, quhairby the said Magistrats are in great vexatioune, and so the poor are frustrat and so not tymeously payit and suppliet as they ought, qulk occasiones manye and divers supplicatiounes to be bro[t] in befor the Counsell for supplie, quhilk ought not to be." It is therefore concluded that £20 stg. be expended by the Treasurer in monthly payments for the use of the poor, the maximum allowance to each being 1s. 6d. per week;[3] but that the poor of the town should first be inspected, the roll of them revised and purged, and all strangers and unlicensed beggars summarily ejected.

[1] 17th October, 1663. [2] 14th March, 1663.
[3] Cleland's *Statistics*, Appendix, p. 180.

VI.

ANNO DECIMO TERTIO VICTORIÆ REGINÆ.

Cap. XX.

An Act for better regulating the Privileges of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of *Glasgow*, and amending their Charter of Incorporation. [10th *June*, 1850.]

WHEREAS the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of *Glasgow* were incorporated by Royal Charter granted by His Majesty King *James* the Sixth of *Scotland*, under the Privy Seal of that Kingdom, on the Twenty-ninth Day of *November* One thousand five hundred and ninety-nine, which Charter was ratified by an Act of the *Scottish* Parliament passed upon the Eleventh Day of *September* One thousand six hundred and seventy-two: And whereas by the said Charter the said Faculty were empowered to call before them and examine all Persons practising Surgery within the City of *Glasgow*, and the Counties of *Lanark*, *Renfrew*, *Dumbarton*, and *Ayr*, to admit and grant Licences to such of the said Persons as they should find qualified, and to debar all others from exercising the Profession of Surgery within the Limits aforesaid; which Powers the said Faculty have from the Date of the said Charter exercised, and still enjoy: And whereas the City of *Glasgow*, and the said Counties of *Lanark*, *Renfrew*, *Dumbarton*, and *Ayr*, over which the Privileges of the said Faculty extend, comprehend a populous, wealthy, and important District of *Scotland*: And whereas it would be of Advantage to the Public, and also to the Medical Profession, if the exclusive Privileges enjoyed by the said Faculty were so relaxed and amended that all Persons found qualified and licensed to practise Surgery by any Corporation authorized by Law to grant such Licences might have Right to practise within the said District, and the Right of all Persons found qualified and licensed by the said Faculty to practise beyond the said Limits were better defined, and if the Members of the said Faculty were hereafter designated "Fellows of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of *Glasgow*:" And whereas the said Faculty have raised and established a Fund of Provision for the Widows and Children of the Members thereof, and it has hitherto been considered obligatory upon all Persons becoming Members of the said Faculty to become also Contributors to the said Fund; and it is expedient that such Obligations should cease; but these Objects cannot be effected without the Authority of Parliament: May it therefore please Your Majesty that it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That the present Members

Charter dated 29th Nov., 1599.

Act of Scottish Parliament, 11th Sept., 1672.

Altering Name of Members of Faculty, and transferring Powers and Privileges.

of the said Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of *Glasgow*, and such Persons as shall be hereafter admitted into the said Corporation, shall be known by the Name and Style of "Fellows" thereof; and shall, except in so far as hereby otherwise provided, possess, exercise, and enjoy the same Powers and Privileges as those heretofore possessed, exercised, and enjoyed by the Members of the said Faculty.

Fellows and Licentiates to have the same Privileges as those of other Colleges.

II. And be it enacted, That the Fellows and Licentiates of the said Faculty shall respectively enjoy the same Status and Privileges in the Practice of their Profession, and be equally eligible to the same Offices in connexion therewith, throughout Her Majesty's Dominions, as if the said Faculty had been specially authorized by Law to grant Licences or Diplomas in Surgery conferring the same Status and Privileges as those conferred by any other Corporation or Royal College in *Scotland* which now is or may hereafter be authorized by Law to grant such Licences or Diplomas: Provided always, that nothing herein contained or authorized shall interfere with any exclusive Privileges heretofore granted by competent Authority to any other Corporation or Royal College, so far and so long as such exclusive Privileges remain in force and unrepealed.

Fellows and Members of other Colleges entitled to practise within the Limits of the Charter of the Faculty.

III. And be it enacted, That the Fellows and Members or Licentiates respectively of any other Corporation or Royal College which now is or hereafter may be authorized by Law to grant Licences or Diplomas in Surgery shall, within the City of *Glasgow*, and Counties of *Lanark*, *Renfrew*, *Dumbarton*, and *Ayr*, enjoy the same Status and Privileges in the Practice of their Profession, and be equally eligible to the same Offices in connexion therewith, as the Fellows and Licentiates respectively of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of *Glasgow*.

Fellows not obliged to contribute to Widows' Fund.

IV. And be it enacted, That no Person who shall hereafter be admitted a Fellow of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of *Glasgow* shall be obliged to become a Contributor to the Fund raised and established by the said Faculty for the Widows and Children of the Members thereof as aforesaid; nor shall any such Person, or the Widow or Children of any such Person, have any Interest in the said Fund, unless such Person shall voluntarily become a Contributor thereto, according to the Regulations thereof in force for the Time being.

Widows' Fund to remain under Management of Contributors thereto.

V. And be it enacted, That neither the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of *Glasgow*, nor its Office-bearers, nor the Fellows of the said Faculty, in consequence of their Admission into the said Corporation, shall have any Claim to or Interest in any Part of the said Fund as presently vested in or under the Management of the Trustees thereof or Contributors thereto, but the same shall remain the sole Property, and be under the exclusive Management and Control, of the Contributors to and Trustees of the said Fund for the Time being; and the said Trustees shall have full Power to demand, sue for, uplift, and discharge all Sums owing to or invested for behoof of the said Fund, without the Interference or Concurrence of the said Faculty or its Office-bearers or Fellows, and to manage and from Time to Time to re-invest the same in the Name of the Trustees for the Time being of the said Fund, for behoof thereof.

Power to amend Bye-Laws.

VI. And be it enacted, That nothing herein contained shall prevent the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of *Glasgow* from altering the Rules and Regulations

heretofore made by the said Faculty under the Powers contained in the said Charter, or from making such new Rules and Regulations as may be necessary for carrying into effect the Purposes of the said Charter and of this Act: Provided always, that such new or altered Rules and Regulations shall not be inconsistent with this Act or with the Laws of the Realm.

VII. And be it enacted, That this Act shall commence and take effect from and after the passing thereof. Commencement of Act.

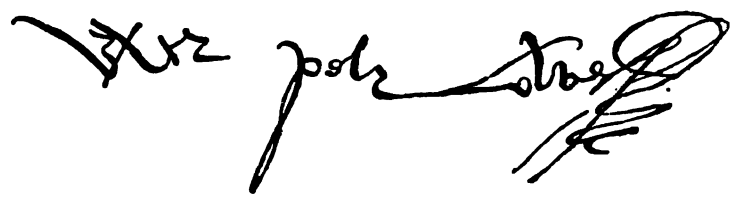
VIII. And be it enacted, That this Act shall be a Public Act, and shall be judicially taken notice of as such. Public Act.

VII.

ROLL OF MEMBERS, 1599–1851.

*** In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the entry is to be understood as that of a Surgeon-freeman, unless the fact is otherwise stated.

1. **PETER LOWE**, Founder of the Faculty, the Charter being granted to him of date 29th November, 1599. For Memorials of him, see Finlayson's *Account of the Life and Writings of Maister Peter Lowe* (Glasgow, 1889), Chapter IV. of the Text; *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXXIV. 196; see also *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, Vol. VIII. 377. Portrait in the Faculty Hall.



The following shows the line of his direct descendants:

DR. PETER LOWE
and his wife HELEN WEEMS.

JOHN LOWE (see No. 28),
Merchant Burgess, Glasgow, died about 1670.

JAMES LOWE (see No. 129),
Writer, Edinburgh.

ROBERT LOWE, only son (see No. 200),
Writer to the Signet, Edinburgh; his wife JEAN,
daughter of John Gray of Dalmarnock
and Carntyne.

WILLIAM LOWE, in 1797 only surviving son,
"late of Newbern, North Carolina," died
without issue in Edinburgh towards
the end of the eighteenth
century.

ANNABELLA LOWE, daughter,
died unmarried.

2. **ROBERT HAMILTON**, Physician. Grantee of the Charter along with No. 1. Master of Arts. (Query: Graduate of Glasgow University, 1584 or in 1591? See *Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis*, III. 4, 9.) Visitor, 1602-6, 1607-10, 1620-22. Father of No. 20. Portrait in Faculty Hall.

3. **WILLIAM SPANG.** Appointed under the Charter to "sicht" or inspect the drugs sold in the burgh. He was in practice in Glasgow as a pharmacist in 1574. (*Burgh Records of Glasgow*, Maitland Club, 3.) Visitor, 1606. Father of No. 9. He was probably related to Rev. Wm. Spang, to whom a large number of Principal Baillie's letters were addressed. (*Baillie's Letters and Journals*. 3 vols. Edin. 1842.) See Chap. v. of Text. Portrait in Faculty Hall.

4. **ADAM FLEMING.** Co-opted as a Member at first meeting in 1602.

5. **ROBERT ALLASON**, Master of Arts (probably the Robert Allanson who graduated in Arts in Glasgow in 1598). Co-opted as Member at first meeting in 1602. Visitor, 1611-13.

6. **THOMAS THOMSON.** Co-opted as Member at first meeting in 1602, but turned out at the next meeting but one, 22nd June, 1602—"The qlk day, in respect of Thomas Thomsone having givein his oath at his entre to beir burdine w^t^ the rest of the brethren and discharging of his deutie, he being synsen desired to compeir w^t^ them to ther assistance . . . hes most wrongously contemptosly disobayed, Therfor they ordaine him to tyne whatsoever libertie he hes be yem."

7. **JOHN LOWE.** Co-opted a Member at first meeting in 1602. Apparently not related to No. 1.

8. **JOHN HALL.** Entered in 1602. Visitor, 1613-15, 1618, 1629, and 1638. Father of No. 18; grandfather of No. 34. There were thus several generations of surgeons of this family.

9. **WILLIAM SPANG, Younger.** Entered in 1602. Son of No. 3.

10. **THOMAS READ.** Entered in 1604. In the City Burgess Roll of 1605 he is given as one of the Medicinar Members of the Crafts' House, the other being No. 2.

11. **GEORGE BIRRELL.** Entered in 1605 "to profes the airt of Barborie w^t^ simple wounds in the flesh."

12. **WILLIAM READ.** Entered in 1610.

13. **JAMES DUNCAN.** Entered in 1610.

14. **ANDREW MILL or MYLNE.** Entered in 1612. Apprentice (and probably son) of Thomas Mylne, who feued part of the lands of Peitbog and Dassiegrene (Town Council Minute, 19th April, 1589), and whom the Council compelled to do penance at the Cross for slandering the town and bailies. (*Memorabilia of Glasgow*, 117.) He was professionally consulted along with Dr. Peter Lowe in a curious case of assault. (*Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, VIII. 377.) Refer also to *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow*, 1573-1642, 479.

15 **GABRIEL SYSERF.** Entered in 1614 as a "Pothecar . . . to use hes aine calling."

16. **JAMES HARPER.** Entered in 1618, apparently from outside the burgh, there being a proviso that if he settled in Glasgow he must make himself a burgess "for the relieve of the craft."

17. **ARCHIBALD LINDSAY.** Entered in 1624. Two years later (16th September, 1626) there is a Minute of the Town Council ordering "the deane of gild and his brethering of Counsell to ressaue doctour Archibald Lindsay, burges and gild brither of the burghe, and the benefeit thairof to succeid to his bairnes . . . for his service done be him to this burghe and inhabitantis within the same in his calling and help of the pure, and to gif him the greater kair to continew thairintill." (*Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow*, 1876, 356.)

18. **ROBERT HALL.** Entered in 1624, soon after which his name disappears. Son of No. 8, and either father or uncle of No. 34.

19. **ROBERT ARCHIBALD.** Entered in 1627. Visitor in 1635-37.

20. **JAMES HAMILTON.** Entered in 1627, the minute bearing that "be examination is fund qualifit to profes the airt of Chirurgerie and Medicine." Son of No. 2. M.A. of Glasgow University. He is generally styled in the Records "Professor of Physick." Visitor, 1633-35, 1637-38, 1642, 1646. His house was in High Street, near the Cross. (Query: Was it in his house the great fire of 22nd June, 1652, which consumed a third of the town originated? It is stated to have been "in the house of *Mr.* James Hamiltoune above the Croce.")

21. **ANDREW MUIR.** Entered in 1628. Apparently he must have been in practice in the burgh several years earlier, as on 20th March, 1622, he was a witness in the Court of Session in the trial for witchcraft of "Margaret Wallace, spouse of Johnne Dynning, Merchant burges of Glasgow," when he gives his age as 42, and is styled "Chirurgine." (The woman, by the way, was convicted, and sentenced "to be wirreit at ane staik to the deid, and her body thairefter to be brunt to ashes." Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, III., 328.) There is also mention of a fee paid to him in 1626 by the Town Council. (*Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow*, 1876, 479.) Visitor, 1641, 1649-51. Father of No. 75.

22. **JAMES FLEMING.** Entered in 1628 "to be ane barber and to cuir simple wounds."

23. **JOHN HAMILTON.** Entered in 1630.

24. **WILLIAM SWAN.** Entered in 1633 on the same terms as No. 22.

25. **DANIEL BROUN.** Entered in 1634. Visitor, 1640, 1646-48, 1653. On 25th April, 1646, a Minute of the Town Council "ordaines the thesaurer to pay Daniel Broun, Chyrurgian, twelf punds money for the helping and cuiring of certaine poore sojours hurt at Kilsyth." (*Extracts from the Records of the*

Burgh of Glasgow, 93; Pagan's *Sketches*, 31.) This doubtless refers to what was called "the battle of Kilsyth," in which Montrose was successful.

26. **WILLIAM CLYDDISDALE.** Entered in 1636. Apprentice to No. 14. For the incident of his expulsion for "railing," see Chap. VIII., p. 68. He was subsequently rehabilitated. Visitor, 1665-66.

27. **JAMES BRAIDWOOD, Elder.** Entered in 1636 as barber. Father of No. 31.

28. **JOHN LOW.** Admitted in 1636. "Son lawful to Mr. Peter Low" (No. 1), described as a merchant burgess of Glasgow. (Finlayson's *Maister Peter Lowe*, 74.) For the circumstances of his admission, see Chap. IV., p. 32. Died about 1670. Father of No. 129.

29. **GEORGE MICHELSON.** Entered in 1637. There is a Minute of 9th April, 1636 of the Town Council: "The provest, baillies, and counsall ordanis the deane of gild and his bretherine to admit (*blank*) Michelsone, Chirurgian, wha is to cum and dwell in this toun, burges and gild brother of the burgh, and his fynes to be hadin as payit, and the benefeit thairof to succeed to his childrine." He seems to have left Glasgow for some years, and in September, 1643, there is an "Act" against him for his absence by the Faculty. He turns up, however, in 1644, and was made Visitor. (It may be a coincidence, but a man of the same name was admitted a member of the Edinburgh Incorporation of Surgeons in 1639.) On 4th May, 1644, the City Treasurer obtained a warrant for money advanced by him for horses "to the lait expeditioune to him and ane of his twa men to ryd on."

30. **JAMES THOMSON.** Entered in 1638. Apprentice to Mr. Ro^t^ Rosse,[1] doctor of Physick, who was not a Member. Visitor, 1656, 1662, 1664. A transaction connected with a property of his is stated in Hill's *History of the Merchants' House*, 121.

31. **JAMES BRAIDWOOD, Younger.** Entered in 1643 on the same terms as his father, No. 27.

32. **ROBERT MAINE** (or MAYNE, Latin MAGNUS), Physician. Entered in 1645, "Professor of Medicine of hes aine consent admittit freman w^t^ the calling conform to the patent." M.A., probably of Glasgow. (*Munimenta*, III. 19.) In 1635 he was appointed Regent in the University, and in 1637 resigned that office on his being appointed Professor of Medicine. It is not stated from what University he obtained a degree in medicine. As professor he was to have a yearly stipend of 400 merks. In 1641 he vacated his house in the College, to be occupied by Mr. David Dickson, Professor of Divinity. (*Ib.* II. 305.) His commission was to "teache ane publict lecture of Medicine in the said Colledge once or twyse ewerie week, except in the ordiner tyme of vacance." Visitor, 1645. Principal Baillie seems to credit him with poetical abilities (*Baillie's*

[1] Rosse's name is given as a contributor to the University Building Fund in 1632 (*Munimenta*, III. 472), but it appears in a less commendable connection in the *Kirk Session Records*. (1st June, 1620, *Glasgow, Ancient and Modern*, I. 146.)

Letters and Journals, III. 403), and this is also referred to in his epitaph, on his tombstone in the High Churchyard, as given by M'Ure (2nd Edit., p. 209), shows that he died in 1646, aged 42.

> "Hic jacet Robertus Cognomento Magnus, multis
> Nominibus revera magnus, philosophus, orator, poeta, medicus,
> Omnigena virtute ac eruditione clarus,
> Medicinae in Academia Glasguensi professor. Obiit nonis
> Februarii millesimo sexcentisimo quadragesimo
> Sexto, anno aetatis suae sexies septimo climacterico."

[Here lies Robert surnamed Mayne [Magnus], for many reasons truly great, philosopher, orator, poet, physician, renowned for all manner of virtue and learning, Professor of Medicine in the College of Glasgow. He died on the 5th February, 1646, in the sixth septennial climacteric year of his life.]

33. **JAMES DUNNING**, Physician. Entered on same day and on similar terms as the last. M.A., probably of Glasgow. (*Munimenta*, III. 18, 78.) The University at which he graduated in Medicine not stated. Both Dr. Mayne and he came under obligations "to be asisting to the Visitor and brethrine in all things belonging to the well of the calling and to beir burdine w^t^ the rest."

34. **JOHN HALL, Elder.** Entered in 1647 "freman w^t^ the calling as professor of Chirurgerie," a vagary in the way of phraseology not met with elsewhere in the Minutes. Apprentice to his "gudsher" (grandfather) No. 8, and son or nephew of No. 18. Town Councillor and bailie of Glasgow, 1656-57 and 1673-74. Visitor, 1648, 1651-52, 1654-55. In the great plague epidemic of 1645-48 he was very active, giving his services gratuitously to rich and poor, and by a Minute of the Council, 18th September, 1647, "John Hall is ordanit to gett fourtie pundis in satisfactioune of all his bygaine paynes in sichting and viseiting suche as deceasit of the pestilence." (See also Minutes of 26th August and 2nd October, 1648.) From a subsequent Minute of the Town Council (23rd April, 1659) we find him "Knocking at the Counsallhous door desyring to have entrie, and it being granted that he should com in his alone and speak quhat he pleased, Because he was not permitted to com with any multitude at his back he refused to com in, but protestit at the door." The cause of this turbulent conduct is referred to by Principal Baillie who styles him "a wavering and volage (fickle) man, albeit the Proveists nephew." The Provost was John Anderson of Dovehill. (*Baillie's Letters and Journals*, III. 362-3.) He was involved in the dispute between the Town Council and the Faculty mentioned at p. 71, and in one of several Minutes of the Town Council dealing with it, he was forbidden "to sitt in the dean of gilds Counsell" till the Faculty Minute book, alleged to have been tampered with, was produced. Father of No. 103. He was alive in 1696. (M'Ure's *History of Glasgow*. 2nd edit., 205, *footnote*.) Donor to the University Library in 1693. (*Munimenta*, III. 440.)

35. **ADAM GRAY.** Entered in 1648.

36. **JAMES LYES.** Entered in 1648, and re-examined in 1654 for wider licence.

37. **ARCHIBALD BOGLE.** Entered in 1649. Father of No. 58.

38. **THOMAS LOCKART.** Entered in 1649 as "Apothecarie"—the words "and Chirurgian" which follow interlined in the Minute were probably a subsequent interpolation. It was the election of this man as Visitor in 1658 in violation of the Seal of Cause, which provided that only a Surgeon freeman could be so elected, which provoked the interference of the Town Council (p. 71). (See Town Council Minutes, 1st and 22nd November, 1659; 3rd and 31st December, 1659.) Father of No. 96.

39. **JAMES FRANK.** Entered in 1650. According to M'Ure, the Glasgow historian, he was "the son of an English Esq^r. Leicestershire." Visitor, 1660-62 and 1663. His daughter Mary married Thomas Patoun, Merchant in Glasgow, father of No. 162. Frank seems to have left Glasgow for some time, as we find the Town Council (23rd January, 1658) inviting him back, and coming under obligation to pay him a salary of 100 merks yearly, and they also voted a sum for his transport to Glasgow. Father of No. 76. Died in Glasgow, 1677.

40. **SYLVESTER RATTRAY,** Physician. Native of Fife. Date of his entry not minuted, but about 1657. In that year a Committee was appointed "to goe to doctour Rotraye and crave a sicht of his letters of graduatione, and if he refuis that they may have a sicht therof To report." Evidently he had not refused, for there is no report. His presence at a meeting shortly after leads to the inference that he had been admitted a freeman. In 1658 he was the physician who attended the son of Principal Baillie. (*Baillie's Letters.* Ed. by D. Laing. III. 373.) For an account of his two Medical works see Chap. XXI. In the *Munimenta* of the University a student of the same name is mentioned (III. 136) who was probably his son. It is not known where Rattray graduated in Medicine.

41. **ANDREW MILLER,** "buikit barber" in 1654.

42. **JOHN CRICHTON.** Entered as a physician in 1654. There is no evidence where he graduated. His son John was booked apprentice to him in 1657.

43. **ROBERT HAREIS.** Entered in 1654, "frieman, simple barbor-chirurgiane, onlie to medell w^t simple woundes allenerlie, and on na termes to meddell w^t phisik, tumors, hulsors, dislocānes, fractors, nor nothing y^t is composit q^ll he be furder qualifit."

44. **JOHN HOW,** Kilbarchan. Entered or licensed in 1654. One of a medical family which practised for several generations (pp. 117, *et seq.*). This particular member was not bright under examination, and he was only "licentiat . . . to use and exerce sik pontis of ye airtes and caling of Chirurgianrie and Medicine as qrof he hes knowlege, experience, and pratize." Probably father of No. 145, and of Dr. George How, a physician in London. If so, to his relationship to the latter he owes the distinction of being mentioned with a

rather sinister allusion in a line of Garth's *Dispensary*. His son, the physician, was the "Querpo" of the physician-poet.

> "In the design shrill Querpo did agree;
> A zealous member of the faculty,
> *His sire's pretended steps he treads.*
> And when the doctor fails, the saint succeeds.
> A conventicle fleshed his greener years,
> And his full age the righteous rancour hears."

45. **NATHAN GREY.** Entered in 1654 "to exercice and cuir simple woundis, and in p^r^ticular in cuting of ye gravell and stone w^t^ ye haill cuir of ye gravell and stone."

46. **ARCHIBALD GRAHAM.** Entered in 1654. M.A. Glasgow. He was "licentiat to profes farmacie and medicine w^t^in ye boundis (except ye brūt of Glasgow as is content w^t^in ye lrēs of gift, and obleiss him at na tyme heirefter to use nor exerce any point of Chirurgerie)." The Town Council admitted him burgess without fee, "and the benefit thairof to redound to his bairnes, with the provision that he visie the seik poore of the toune . . . they paying for the Medicaments. (*Extracts from the Records of the Town Council*, 1881, 304.)

47. **JOHN MATHIES,** in Cokhue (?). Entered in 1654.

48. **WILLIAM WALLACE.** Entered as physician in 1654, "for ye present residenter in Paisley, Professor of Medicine of his awin consent." M.A., probably of Glasgow. It is not known where he graduated in medicine.

49. **JAMES SCOT.** Entered in 1654. Only "licentiat and tollerat to cuir simple wounds," and a few other things.

50. **JOHN PATERSON,** Paisley. Entered in 1654 "licentiat in barbar-chirurgie," which is explained to connote "to cuir simple wounds, fractors q^r^ y^r^ is no flesh cutt, phlebotomie, applicacione of ventosis and potentiall couteris."

51. **WILLIAM KELSO,** Ayr. Entered in 1654.

52. **JOHN LIES.** Entered in 1654, not a full freeman, but only as "licentiat and tollerat," as in the case of No. 49.

53. **JOHNE MILLER,** Kilmarnock. Entered in 1654 as apothecary.

54. **JOHN TOD.** Entered in 1654.

55. **ROBERT FERGUSHILL,** Ayr. Entered in 1654 "to practise pharmacie and Medicine," which is said to be "contenit in ye lrēs of gift by ye deceist King James."

56. **THOMAS CHISHOLME,** Ayr. Entered full Chirurgian in 1654.

57. **JOHNE KID,** Ayr. Entered in 1654 "licentiat to cuir simple woundis allenderlie" [only].

58. **ARCHIBALD BOGLE.** Entered in 1654. Son of No. 37. Visitor 1666-68, 1669, 1671-73; 1674-75.

59. **WILLIAM SOUTTER.** Entered in 1655 "to exerceis his airt of cuting of people of the gravell, and preparing of the patientes in reference thereto w'out the citie of Glasgow, swa far as they have libertie by the gift." Next year we find from the Town Council Minutes that they made him a burgess gratis "for service done and to be done be him." He seems to have been destined as City stone-cutter, but was coy in accepting or remaining at the post. As late as 14th May, 1659, "It is concludit that Doctour Soutour be delt with to mak his residence heir . . . and to pay him fourtie poundis be yeir, he being obleist to contract to cure the poore in toune, wha shall be recommendit to him be the magistrats, of the ston." In September, 1657, the Faculty ordained his "fyne to be scorit out of the book and remitted to him."

60. **JAMES TOBIAS,** Ayr. Entered in 1655, not only for himself, but as representing his "old aged father, who was not able to travell," on the latter producing a certificate from the magistrates and freemen of the Corporation, residing in Ayr.

61. **ALLAN KIRKWOOD,** Darnley. Entered in 1655. His qualification extended in 1673.

62. **IVER M'NEILL.** Entered in 1656. The Minute bears that he "hes been in use these ten yearis or therby bygaine in cutting of the Stone. They upon sight of severall creditable testificates did licentiat him allenerlie to exerce the cutting of the Stone." He appears to have received no regular salary from the town for some years; but on 21st March, 1661, "It was concludit be the Magistratis and Counsell to pay yearlie to Evir M'Neill that cuts the stone ane hundred markes Scots, and he to cut all the poor for that frielie: wherupon ane contract was subscryvit betwist the toune and him theranent this day." In the City Accounts for 1684 we find his salary still being paid, so that he must have pursued his specialty for about forty years. He was alive, but infirm, in 1688, when his successor, No. 152, was appointed.

63. **ROBERT MUIR,** Gorbals. Entered in 1657. Barber only.

64. **JOHN LIDDELL.** Entered in 1657. Barber only.

65. **JAMES MOWAT.** Entered in 1657. Apprentice of No. 40.

66. **DAVID SHARP.** Entered in 1658. M.A. Glasgow, 1651. At first he was admitted only as pharmacian, afterwards also as surgeon. Married Elizabeth, sister of Mr. John Young, Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. Visitor, 1673. (Ref. *Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis*, I. 400.)

67. **THOMAS YOUNGER,** Ardgowan. Entered in 1659. M.A. Glasgow.

68. **JOHN FORSTER,** Auchenleck. Entered in 1659.

69. **THOMAS ROBIESON.** Entered in 1659.

70. **JOHN WEIR,** Cambusnethan. Entered in 1659.

71. **WILLIAM FLEMING.** Entered in 1659.

72. **ALEXANDER DUNLOP,** Hamilton. Entered in 1659. M.A. Admitted "to use some small poyntes of Chirurgie, sell drogis, and to give phisikes to patientis according to ane approven doctours receipt."

73. **GILBERT KENNEDY,** Maybole. Entered in 1659. Apprentice to David Kennedy, surgeon, Edinburgh.

74. **ANDREW ELPHINSTON.** Entered in 1660. Visitor, 1670.

75. **JOHN MUIR.** Entered in 1661. Son and apprentice of No. 21. M.A. He is said to have been admitted as "having sealled Patent or Letters of Gradua°ne producet be him and red over befoir ye sd Court Quho hes fund him efter Exanina°n qualifiet." This was the first time a Medical Graduate is said to have been examined. Probably it arose from his having elected to practise surgery instead of medicine.

76. **JAMES FRANK, Younger.** Entered in 1661. Son of No. 39.

77. **JAMES WILSON,** barber, booked in 1661.

78. **ROBERT HAMILTON,** Cambuslang. Entered in 1661.

79. **JOHN SPREULL,** Paisley. Entered in 1661 as a pharmacian. He was a keen Covenanter, and after the battle of Pentland was fined by the Earl of Middleton, and forced to hide himself. His son, then a lad under twenty, was thereupon apprehended, but in spite of threats that he would be roasted alive or shot, he refused to divulge his father's place of retreat. This son, who was subsequently tortured in presence of the Duke of York, and whose long imprisonment in the Bass Rock obtained for him the sobriquet of "Bass John," does not appear to have been entered, although he was styled pharmacian and merchant, but the defect in the Records renders this uncertain. Father of No. 122. (Ref. Cleland's *Annals of Glasgow*, II. 47.)

80. **JAMES WATT.** Entered in 1662.

81. **JOHN EWING,** Paisley. Entered pharmacian in 1661 "to sell drogs and mack up recepes according to ane doctors direction qch he is to receave frae ye doctor only in Scots Languadge, because he hes no uyr Languadge."

82. **ANDREW BROWNE,** Hamilton. Entered in 1662.

83. **HUGH MONTGOMERIE.** Entered in 1664. M.A. Glasgow, 1649.

84. **QUINTIN M'ADAM,** Girvan. Entered in 1665.

85. **JOHN LOGAN,** Gorbals. Entered in 1666.

86. **JOHN PANTON,** Hamilton. Entered in 1666. Brought up under Letters of Horning. "He acknowledgit that neir thes fyfteine years bygaine sinc he

cam from france as he had occasione he profest to cuir all sort of wounds, impostumes, vlcers, fractors, dislocaᵒns,—flebotomies, applicaᵒne of couters, and in vse to give physik to woundit persons, etc."

87. **ROBERT DUNLOP**, in Donŭne? Entered in 1667.

88. **DAVID FLEMING**, in Killelane? Entered in 1667.

89. **ADAM GRAY**. Entered in 1667. Apprentice of No. 58. Son of Adam Gray, Maltman, Glasgow.

90. **JOHN ROBIESON**. Entered in 1667 as an Apothecary, and "exempt from ever bearing place or office wᵗin the said facultie," for what reason does not appear.

91. **JOHN FLEMING**. Entered as barber in 1667.

92. **WILLIAM CURRIE**, Douglas. Entered in 1667. It was his admission which roused the ire of No. 26, and brought about the expulsion of the latter for "blaspheming" (p. 68).

93. **JOHN NIVEN**, Dumbarton. Entered in 1667.

94. **MATTHEW MILLER**, Kilmarnock. Entered in 1668. Son of No. 53. (See p. 52.)

95. **THOMAS HARPER**, Kilmarnock. Entered in 1668.

96. **GEORGE LOCKHART**. Entered in 1668. Son of No. 38.

97. **CHARLES MOWAT**. Entered in 1669. M.A. Glasgow. He was entered as a pharmacian at first, his qualification being afterwards extended. Visitor, 1675-76, 1680. At the request of the Archbishop of Glasgow, he was admitted burgess of the City gratis. (Hill's *History of the Merchants' House*, 129.)

98. **PETER BOGLE**. Entered in 1669.

99. **GILBERT NELSON**, Strathaven. Entered in 1669, and his licence extended on re-examination in 1672.

100. **ROBERT HOUSTON**. Entered in 1669, his licence being afterwards enlarged. Visitor, 1667, 1679, and possibly 1691. Father of No. 175.

101. **HEW HUNTER**. Entered as pharmacian in 1670.

102. **JOHN HALL**. Entered as barber in 1671. The Minute of his admission states that "After he had payd his freedom fyne of 40 pounds, Therafter the said faculte, heaving taken to ther considaraᵒne the respect, kyndnes, favour, and courtacie The sd John Hall had shown to the said calling, and guid deeds done be him to them, they all in one voyce ordainit their collector To give back Twentie Poundes as the equall half of the same fridome fyne."

103. **JOHN HALL, Younger**. Entered in 1671. Eldest son of No. 34. Married, in 1665, Mary, daughter of Peter Gemmell, merchant and bailie of Glasgow. (For his relationship to another surgeon, James Calder, No. 162A, see M'Ure's *History*, 2nd ed., p. 106.) The parsonage house of the Rector of Carstairs in the Rotten Row, occupied by Rev. David Weems (father-in-law

of Dr. Peter Lowe), is stated to have come to Hall "by his heir female." (*Glasgow, Past and Present.* II. 23. 1884.) In 1693 he gifted books to the University Library. (*Munimenta*, III. 440.) M'Ure mentions that he left only one daughter, Christian; in the Faculty Records two of his daughters (or sisters?), neither of them of that name, are mentioned as beneficiaries.

104. **ANDREW RALSTON.** Entered in 1671. Died in 1673, while holding office as Collector.

105. **WILLIAM SEMPILL,** of Dalmok. Entered in 1672.

106. **JAMES WEIR.** Entered in 1672. Apprentice of No. 109. Visitor, 1698. Died in 1705, when his son-in-law presented to the Library some of his books. He himself was a donor of books in 1698, when the Library was founded.

107. **JOHN TOD,** Kilmarnock. Entered in 1672 as apothecary.

108. **ALEXANDER PORTER,** Beith. Entered in 1672 as apothecary. M.A. Glasgow.

109. **JOHN COLQUHOUN.** Entered in 1672 as physician. For an account of the negotiations resulting in his admission see Chap. VII., p. 62. In 1672 he was appointed Rector's Assessor in the University. (*Munimenta*, III. 325.) Phys. Visitor, 1672-73. It is not stated where he got his medical degree.

110. **THOMAS HAMILTON.** Entered in 1672 as physician under similar circumstances to the last. Phys.-Visitor, 1674-75. He died in 1675, as we find his daughter Marion entered as his heir to a considerable amount of real estate, including "in botho mercatorio in dicto burgo ex orientale latere viae regiae nuncupatae Saltmercat," besides lands in the new Gallowmuir, etc. (*Glasgow, Past and Present*, III. 13. 1884.) Place of his degree not known.

111. **MICHAEL WALLACE.** Entered as physician in 1673, when he was appointed "Visitor for the country," being then resident in Ayr, and intrusted with the exercise of the powers conferred by the charter in his district. He seems subsequently to have settled in Glasgow. Died 23rd January, 1692, bequeathing £100 to the Merchants' House. His son John, who died in 1699, made a similar bequest. (M'Ure's *History*, 2nd ed., 204-5.) No information as to his degree.

112. **THOMAS SMITH.** Entered in 1673. M.A. Glasgow. He was summarily removed from the office of Collector in 1677 in view of his "being denuncit or conveent before the lords of Secret Counsell ffor atten^g^ conventicls." A year before this he was found guilty of using "vilipending expressions" against the Visitor, but apologised, admitting that "he had been then in passion."

113. **BRYCE BELL.** Entered in 1673 as physician. He was, jointly with No. 111, appointed Visitor for the country, being then resident in Kilmarnock. By the middle of 1677 he had settled in Glasgow, and was that year elected Physician-Visitor. No evidence as to his degree.

114. **JOHN LANG,** Hamilton. Entered in 1673.

115. **JOHN LENNOX,** Greenock. Entered pharmacian in 1673.

116. **JAMES SAYES,** Douglas. Entered in 1674.

117. **JAMES MUTER,** Stenhouse. Entered pharmacian in 1674.

118. **WILLIAM BOGLE.** Entered in 1674. Apprentice and probably son of No. 58.

119. **JOHN ROBISON.** Entered in 1674. Son of John Robison, Merchant in Glasgow. Apprentice of No. 66. Appointed town surgeon for the poor; in the burgh accounts for 1653 there occurs under 18th September the entry: "To John Robison for his year's fiall as townes chirurgian, 66 lib. 13/4." (*Memorabilia of Glasgow*, 241.)

120. **JOHN TAP.** Admitted barber in 1675. He was subsequently brought up for "prophanation and abuse of the lord's day by barbourising therupon. . . . He denyit the same on his word of honesty and credit, was assoilzied," and was warned not to do it again.

121. **ROBERT BOYD.** Entered in 1675. Apprentice of No. 110. His freedom fine was remitted in accordance with the deathbed request of his master.

122. **JAMES SPREULL,** Paisley. Entered in 1675. Son of No. 79, and brother of "Bass John." Married his cousin Ann, daughter of John Spreull, Town Clerk of Glasgow, who was removed from office owing to his disaffection to the Stewart dynasty. Their daughter Janet married James Shortridge, of a well-known Glasgow family. Died in 1680.

123. **JOHN WHYTE,** Paisley. Entered as pharmacian in 1675. Ref. *History of the Witches of Renfrewshire*, App. IV., 71.

124. **JAMES MORTON.** Entered in 1675.

125. **LUDOVIC LINDSAY.** Entered in 1676. Visitor, 1681.

126. **JOHN HALL,** Paisley, afterwards in Gorbals. Entered in 1676, but subsequently brought up "under caption," and expelled for practising in points beyond his licence in the way of cancer operations.

127. **JAMES FORRESTER,** Kilmalcolm. Entered in 1677.

128. **THOMAS MELVILL.** Booked barber in 1676 "at the request and desyre of his . . . master, Jon Bell, Provest of Glasgow, w'out any payment."

129. **JAMES LOW.** Entered in 1677. Son of No. 28, and grandson of No. 1. An Edinburgh Writer to the Signet. Admitted under the same circumstances as his father (see p. 32). Father of No. 200.

130. **SAMUEL LOCKHART,** Lanark. Entered in 1677. He is styled "Captain" in the Minutes of the Faculty as in those of the Lanark Town Council. He was brother-german to James Lockhart of Cleghorn. Some curious references to him are given in the *Extracts from the Records of the Town Council of Lanark* (1893), 204, 212-215, of which he was a member.

131. **DAVID BAILLIE**, Lanark. Entered as pharmacian in 1677. Apprentice to Robert Campbell, Pharmacian, Edinburgh.

132. **JAMES SHIELDS**, Lanark. Entered in 1677. Apprentice to Hew Brown, Chirurgian, Edinburgh. In 1679 removed to Glasgow.

133. **JOHN CAMPBELL**, in Inerary. Entered in 1677.

134. **JOHN CRAWFORD**, Kilmarnock. Entered in 1677.

135. **ALEXANDER TRAN**. Entered in 1678. Apprentice to Wm. Borthwick, Chirurgian, Edinburgh. The examinators reported, as regards pharmacy, that his compositions were not "made *secundum artem*"; and his licence was subject to "this qualifie, that they will order his shope to be sichted and visited." He was alive in 1708.

136. **JOHN COUPER**, Lesmahagow. Entered in 1678.

137. **JOHN ADAM**, Inglestoun Bridge. Entered in 1679

138. **ANDREW BROWN**, Dolphington. Entered in 1679.

139. **JOHN STOBO**. Entered in 1680. M.A. Glasgow, 1666.

140. **MARK CLIFFORD**, Lanark. Entered in 1680. (Ref. *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Lanark*, 207, 214.)

141. **JOHN OR**. Entered in 1680, when under age, in view of his poverty, "and in regard to his neir relaᵒne to the now deceist Mr. Peter Low."

142. **JOHN LIDDELL**. Entered in 1680; afterwards suspended "for his misbehavior towards the Visitor, and abusing him, wᵗ several myr (more) members of the Facultie."

143. **JOHN CRAWFORD**, Paisley. Entered in 1681 as pharmacian. "Sone to Mr. Hew Crawford, master at Cumnock."

144. **WILLIAM M'GIE**. Entered in 1681.

145. **JOHN HOW**, Yr., of Demptoun, Kilbarchan. Entered in 1681, having been brought up in "obedienc to a charg of horning." Probably the son or grandson of No. 44. (Rff. Crawford's *History of Renfrewshire*, 378; Hector's *Judicial Records of Renfrewshire*, 2nd Series, 66.)

146. **GEORGE ARMOUR**, barber. Booked in 1682.

*** From this date till 1733 the Records are awanting, having been destroyed under circumstances stated at p. 91, *et seq.* But an imperfect list has been compiled from other documents, printed and manuscript, which have been preserved. The dates of entry cannot be given in most cases; and the order of the names makes no pretence to be their order of enrolment.

147. **MATTHEW BRISBANE.** Entered as physician about 1684. M.D. Utrecht, 1661 (Thesis, "De Catalepsi"). Son of Rev. Matthew Brisbane, parson of Erskine, a scion of the house of Brisbane of Bishopton. Held office in the University as Dean of Faculty, 1675-76; Rector, 1677-81. (*Munimenta*, III. 326, 356.) In the City Accounts for 1684 his name appears as town's physician, his salary being the same as that of the surgeon and of the stone-cutter. He gave a professional opinion in the famous Bargarran Witchcraft case in 1696. (*Witches of Renfrewshire*, 129.) Father of No. 195.

148. **ROBERT GRAHAM**, of Gallengade. Entered before 1698; deceased between 1708 and 1719. A considerable donor to the Faculty Library.

149. **ALEXANDER KNOX**, deceased between 1708 and 1719. Donor to Library.

150. **THOMAS HAMILTON.** Visitor, 1708; alive in 1733. In 1716 he was ordered by the Town Council to be paid £48 (Scots) "for curing a complicat fracture of the hand of Robert Russell, the toune's Master Gunner, which he received by one of the great guns," and for similar services to various volunteers "contusit, woundit, and otherwise injured by the firing of their own great guns." (Cleland's *Statistics*, 186.) Donor to Faculty Library.

151. **JOHN BOYD.** Entered before 1698. Alive in 1719, but not in 1733. He was the *Joannes Bodie* who, at the starting of the Library in 1697, presented the folio book with clasps in which to record donations.

152. **DUNCAN CAMPBELL.** Succeeded No. 62 as City "Stone-cutter." 27th March, 1688: "The said day there was ane testificat produced in favour of Duncan Campbell, subscryvit be the haill doctors and most part of the chirurgianes in toune, of his dexterite and success in cutting of the stone, as also sounding with great facilitie, and hes given severall proofes therof within the burgh: Whilk being taken to the said magistrats and counsell ther consideration, they nominat and appoynt him to cut such poor in towne as he shall be desyred be the magistrats, in place of Evir M'Neill, who is become unfit to do the same through his infirmitie. (*Memorabilia of Glasgow*, p. 258.) Died before 1708.

153. **DAVID HALL.** Alive in 1708, but not in 1719. Donor to Library.

154. **JOHN NAISMITH.** "Son to the deceasit Mr. James Naismith, sometime Minister at Hamilton." Apprentice to No. 66.

155. **JASPER TOUGH**, Kilmarnock. Wodrow, in his *History of the Church*, describes how he was subjected to the rigours of military despotism in 1683 for non-conformity. (See also M'Kay's *History of Kilmarnock*, 53.)

156. **HENRY MARSHALL.** Entered after a lawsuit raised by the Faculty against the Town Council in regard to the assumed right of that body to license

him to practise in Glasgow. (Chap. IX.) As an example of a Glasgow medical genealogical tree, the following may be of some interest:

PATRICK MARSHALL,
Surgeon, Kilsyth
(1631–1697).

His son, HENRY MARSHALL,
Surgeon, died 1727.

His son, JOHN MARSHALL,
Surgeon, died 1719.

His daughter LILLIAN,
married Alexander Horsburgh, Surgeon,
who died 1745.

Their daughter, LILLIAN HORSBURGH,
married Robert Cowan, Merchant
(1735–1813).

Their son, ROBERT COWAN,
Surgeon, Glasgow
(1769–1808).

His son, ROBERT COWAN, M.D.,
Professor of Medical Jurisprudence,
University of Glasgow
(1706–1841).

His son, JOHN BLACK COWAN, M.D.,
Emeritus Professor of Materia Medica,
University of Glasgow
(1829–

His son, JOHN MARSHALL COWAN, M.B. Cantab.

Henry Marshall married (1) Jean Baillie and (2) Margaret Storie, daughter of Richard Storie, Esq., and Lady Lilias Fleming, the latter being daughter of the third Earl of Wigton and Lady Jane Drummond, eldest daughter of the third Earl of Perth. It is this marriage of Richard Storie that is perpetuated in the ballad:

"The Erle of Wigton had three daughters,
O braw willie they were bonnie;
The youngest of them and the brawest too,
Has fallen in love wi' Richard Storie."

157. **WILLIAM WILSON**, Greenock. Father of No. 221. (Ref. Weir's *History of Greenock*, 114.)

158. **NICOL BROWN**, Newmilns. Married Marion Campbell of Waterhaughs. Father of Thomas Brown, surgeon, London, who built Langside, and died in 1739. The latter was the father of No. 354. (Ref. *Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry*, 160.)

159. **JOHN HATTRICK**, Merkdaily, Glasgow. Wodrow (*Analecta*, II. 370) tells a story that "he being under very great deepths of exercise, came to a resolution

to put ane end to his dayes, and went resolutely to the Peat-bogg at the Green of Glasgow and cast himself into the Clyde: That he was caryed, he did not knou hou, to Govan side of the water; and was very litle wet when he came to the shore though he could sweem none."

160. **JOHN MELVILL.** Entered in 1718, and died in that or the following year.

161. **WILLIAM THOMSON.** Apprentice to No. 97. Chirurgeon-Visitor, 1709-11, 1714-15. Died between 1719 and 1733.

162. **PETER PATOUN.** Entered as physician about 1692. Son of Thomas Patoun, merchant in Glasgow, whose wife was a daughter of No. 39. Studied medicine at Leyden, and graduated there as M.D., 1691 (Diss. Inaug., "De partu difficili"). Married Anna Hamilton, daughter of the laird of Dalserf. Father of No. 199. Donor of a considerable number of books to the University Library (*Munimenta*, III. 440), also to the Faculty Library. Contributor to the *Edinburgh Medical Essays* (I. 172). Long one of the leading physicians in Glasgow. President, 1709-10.

163. **HUGH FULTON.** Entered in or before 1705. Visitor, 1712-13. Wodrow, the Church historian, says: "He was mighty in wrestling, a great sympathizer, and had a constant concern about the publick interests, and great apprehensions of comming and suddain and desolating stroaks. He had a mighty concern about the matter of purity of doctrine." (*Analecta*, III. 475.) Died in 1728.

161A. **HEW COCHRAN**, Lanark. Ref. Glaister's *Dr. William Smellie*, 19.

162A. **JAMES CALDER, Senior.** Entered before 1705. Married Mary, daughter of Walter Atchison of Roughsulloch, she being grand-daughter of No. 103. (M'Ure's *History of Glasgow*, 2nd ed., 106.) Father of 184. Donor to Faculty Library. Visitor, 1716-18.

163A. **JOHN CAMPBELL**, Paisley. Apprentice to John Hall, No. 34(?) According to Wodrow there was a design to appoint him Professor of Anatomy in the University of Glasgow in succession to Dr. Brisbane. (*Analecta*, IV. 28.) M.D.(?) (University unknown). Long the leading practitioner in Paisley. (For a professional account of his, containing some curious items, see Hector's *Judicial Records of Renfrewshire*, 2nd Series, 59.)

164. **THOMAS NAPIER** of Ballikinrain. Second son of William Napier, eleventh of Ballikinrain, and Rebecca Buchanan, his wife. Born in 1684; died in 1718. His father had a house in Glasgow. In 1713 married Anna, daughter of Alexander Napier of Blackstone. In 1714 he presented to the Faculty a copy of the Works of Heurnius, the donor being entered as "Thomas Napier of Ballikinrain, Chyr." Mr. Guthrie Smith, who gives the genealogy of the family in his *History of Strathendrick*, does not mention that he was a surgeon (p. 201); and as he came into the succession in 1702 he may never have practised. His uncle James had been apprenticed to Wm. Borthwick, an Edinburgh surgeon. (*Ibid.*, p. 199.)

165. **WILLIAM WRIGHT**, M.D. Entered as a physician. Donor to Library.

166. **THOMAS KENNEDY**, M.D. Leyden, 1682. (Inaug. Diss., "De nutritione fœtus.") In 1703 was called in by the University to act as one of the assessors to Dr. Sinclare, M.D., Professor of Mathematics, in the examination of the first (or one of the first) candidates for the degree of M.D. (*Munimenta*, III. 376.) Donor to Library. Died in 1708, aged 48, bequeathing money to the Merchants' Hospital. (Hill's *Merchants' House*, 576; M'Ure's *History*, 2nd ed., 206.)

167. **JAMES BAIRD**, M.D. Entered as a physician. Donor of books at the start of the Faculty Library.

168. **JOHN BOGLE.** Entered before 1708; deceased before 1718. Son of No. 118(?). Donor to Library. (Ref. M'Ure's *History*, 2nd ed., 128.)

169. **HUGH THOMSON.** He had been minister of Kilmaurs, which office he demitted about 1712, "having no freedom to take the oath of abjuration," says Wodrow. (*Analecta*, IV. 203.) He then took to the practice of medicine, which he seems to have learned, and eventually came to Glasgow, where he practised till his death in 1731. Wodrow states that he used to preach four or five hours, and was the longest preacher he ever heard.

170. **JOHN MARSHALL.** Son of Patrick Marshall, surgeon, Kilsyth. After apprenticeship he seems to have studied at Paris in 1677, one of the books he gifted to the Faculty bearing his name with that year and place. Married Christian Stewart. Brother of No. 156 (*q.v.*). M.A. 1707. In 1704 he was appointed by the University to have charge of the Physic Gardens, the entry to which, curious to say, was restricted to masters and those students who were the sons of noblemen. (*Munimenta*, II. 421.) The Minute of his appointment runs thus: "The Faculty [of the University] having resolved to prosecute their own act of July 4th anent the improvement of some parts of their Great Yard for Botany and a Physick Garden, do now think it necessary to name one who shall have the charge and oversight thereof, and who may instruct the scholars who shall apply to him for the study of botany, and being informed that John Marshell, Chirurgeon in Glasgow, is capable of discharging that trust, and being specially recommended by the Dean of Faculties letter, Therefore the Faculty does nominate the said John Marshell to the said employment." Died in 1719.

171. **JOHN SEMPLE** of Dalmoak. Donor to Library.

172. **MATTHEW LAMB** of Rorkwood. Donor to Library.

173. **ADAM CUNNINGHAM**, Greenock. Donor to Library. Died 1769. (Ref. Weir's *History of Greenock*, 114.)

174. **ANDREW REID.** Entered on or before 1708. Donor to Library. Deceased before 1719.

175. **ROBERT HOUSTON.** Son of No. 100. Entered after 1684. Either he or his father was Visitor in 1691, probably the former. M.A. Glasgow. In 1711

he applied to the University to be examined for the doctorate of medicine, and in 1712 this was done, and he received the degree. Previous to this he seems to have acquired reputation in and around Glasgow as a surgeon. The exact date of his leaving Glasgow is not known, but seems to be about 1714. He then settled to practise about Westminster. In 1725 he was admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society, and contributed to their *Transactions* "An account of an extra-uterine foetus taken out of a woman after death, that had continued four and a half years in the body." (xxxii. 257, 1725.) Next year he contributed "An account of a Dropsy in the left ovary of a woman aged 58, cured by a large incision made in the side of the abdomen" (xxxiii. 8), the operation having been performed a quarter of a century earlier when he was a surgeon in Glasgow. (See p. 114 of Text.) In 1723 he published, with his initials only, "Lithotomus Castratus: or Mr. Cheselden's treatise on the High Operation for the Stone thoroughly examin'd, and plainly found to be Lithotomia Douglassiana, etc., under another title, in a letter to Dr. John Arbuthnot." (Lond.: T. Rayne.) In 1726 he published, also under initials only, "The history of Ruptures and Rupture Cures, etc., wherein both are thoroughly and impartially considered. . . . With a genuine receipt of the whole secret, which was lately sold for an immense sum of money, etc." (Lond.: E. Strahan.) Houston died in 1734. (Ref. Lawson Tait, *Diseases of the Ovaries*, 239.)

176. **ROBERT HAMILTON.** Signs the "Letter of Demission and Renunciation" of the Seal of Cause, 1719.

177. **JOHN HAMILTON.** Donor to Faculty Library.

178. **ALEXANDER MASON.** Signs the "Letter of Demission and Renunciation" of the Letter of Deaconry, 1719.

179. **WILLIAM ENGLISH.** Deceased before 1719.

180. **JOHN MURDOCH.** Father-in-law of No. 187.

181. **GEORGE THOMSON,** M.D. Leyden. Was in practice in Glasgow in 1703, when he was selected to be one of the assessors to Dr. Sinclare, M.D., Professor of Mathematics at the first examination for the medical degree. He seems to have set credulous Wodrow agape with the teratological marvels he had seen in Holland, of a man whose neck grew out of his side, and of a boy with "Deus Meus" written on his eye. (*Analecta*, i. 3, 4.) Physician-Visitor 1733-34.

182. **ALEXANDER PORTERFIELD.** In 1684 booked apprentice to No. 119. Son of Alexander Porterfield, who was third son of Alexander Porterfield of that Ilk. Entered about 1690, and in 1733 was senior surgeon member. (For his genealogy see Crawfurd's *General Description of the Shire of Renfrew*, edited by J. G. Robertson, 1818, 63. See also *Glasgow, Past and Present*, 1884, iii. 484).

183. **ANDREW HOW**, of Pannell, Kilbarchan. This is another member of the medical family to which belonged Nos. 44 and 145. For copy of a curious summons taken out by him against some half-dozen of his patients for the payment of their bills, see p. 108.

183A. **JOHN M'JARROW**, Ayr. Born 1688. Entered about 1712. Eldest son of Thomas M'Jarrow of Bass. Married Agnes, daughter of Robert Simpson, at one time Provost of Ayr. (Paterson's *History of Carrick*, 417.)

184. **JAMES CALDER, Younger.** Son of No. 162A. Contributed a number of papers to the *Edinburgh Medical Essays.* Died about 1765.

185. **JAMES HAMILTON**, of Newton. Entered after 1719. Married Annabella, third daughter of Sir Robert Pollok of that Ilk (Mearns). He had an only son, James, who died without issue. Practised as a surgeon in Glasgow. Visitor 1733-34. (Ref. Crawfurd's *Shire of Renfrew* (1818), 292.)

186. **DUNCAN M'LACHLAN**, Dumbarton. "Forasmeikell as Doctor Duncan M'Lachlan is content to mak his residence in the burgh, and to use his calling in the service of phisick, pottingerie and chirurgerie hier, the burgh furnishing him ae hous and yaird to him to dwell into. Thairfor finding it necessary and for the weill of the burgh and commonwealth thairof to have him to dwell thairin, The sd p^{r}est, baillies and counseill cõdescends to geve him yeirlie . . . fourtie pundis Scottis money for paying the maill of ae hous content that p^{r}eist, baillies and counsaill mak indentures w^{t} him in the same termes." (*Dumbarton Burgh Records*, 52.)

187. **WILLIAM STIRLING.** Entered in 1712, his admission being one of the occasions of setting the surgeons and barbers by the ears. (See Chap. x.) Member of an old Glasgow family, being the great-grandson of Walter Stirling, who married Dr. Peter Lowe's widow, and father of the Walter Stirling who founded Stirling's Library. His surgery was in the Dispensary Close, High Street. He was an M.A. of Glasgow, and appears to have received at least part of his training in Holland. Partner with No. 191, along with whom and other two citizens he introduced the linen manufactures into Glasgow. (M'Ure's *History*, 2nd ed., 257.) Married, *first*, Janet Smith; *second*, Elizabeth Murdoch, daughter of No. 180. Died in 1757.

188. **THOMAS BUCHANAN.** Entered between 1708 and 1719. Surgeon-Visitor 1734-36. Married Elizabeth Napier, eldest daughter of Archibald Napier, of Bankell and Ballocharne. (Guthrie Smith, *History of Strathendrick*, 185, 186.)

189. **ROBERT WALLACE.** Entered between 1708 and 1719. Father of No. 252. Visitor in 1745-48. House in Saltmarket (M'Ure's *History*, 2nd ed., 126), and possibly afterwards in Candleriggs (*Old Glasgow*, by Senex, 437).

Mr. Robert Reid says that "he was at the top of his profession as a medical man" (*Ibid.*).

190. **ROBERT HUNTER**, Kilmarnock. Entered in 1728.

191. **JOHN GORDON.** Entered before 1719. Partner with No. 187, and subsequently with No. 251. Along with the former he set up the linen works of Grahamstown Hall, near Glasgow. After practising as a general practitioner for upwards of thirty years, he graduated at the University in 1754, and limited his practice to that of a physician. President 1755-56 and 1763-64. Married Mary, daughter of Patrick Bell, Cowcaddens. Smollett, his old pupil, is stated to have had Gordon in his mind when drawing the character of "Potion" in *Roderick Random*. In 1725 he was one of "The Secret Committy" of three who drew up for publication in London a vindication of the Magistrates of Glasgow against aspersions cast upon them in connection with the Shawfield House Riot arising from the imposition of the Malt Tax. (Wodrow's *Analecta*, III. 248.) Friend and correspondent of Smellie, the obstetrician. Died in 1770.

192. **JOHN PAISLEY.** Entered between 1719 and 1724. Educated at the University of Glasgow. He was long "bibliothecarius" to the Faculty. Thomson states in his *Life of Cullen* (I. 3) that he was engaged in extensive practice, was of a studious turn of mind, and had collected a large and valuable medical library. When his old pupil-apprentice, Cullen, began as a lecturer on medicine, Mr. Paisley's library was thrown open to his students. He contributed some articles to the *Edinburgh Medical Essays* (VI. 283, 296).

193. **THOMAS DOUGALD.** See p. 91.

194. **COLIN M'CALL**, Cumbernauld.

195. **THOMAS BRISBANE.** Son of No. 147. Entered as physician. M.D. (University not ascertained). First Professor of Anatomy and Botany in the University of Glasgow (1720-42). As far as appears he taught neither of the subjects, and more than once there was a movement to supersede him. (Rff. Wodrow's *Analecta*, III. 332, IV. 28.) He died in 1742. Father of No. 290.

196. **WILLIAM JOHNSTON**, Paisley.

197. **JOHN WODROW**, M.D. Admitted as a physician. Son of Rev. James Wodrow, Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, brother of Rev. Robert Wodrow, minister of Eastwood, author of the *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, etc. He was a man of scientific tastes, devoted to natural history. His physic garden, to the upkeep of which the Faculty contributed annually, was situated on the east bank of the Molendinar, about where St. Andrew's Square now is. Married Sophia Douglas, who, when a widow, presented his botanical books, etc., to the Library. Rff. Duncan's *Literary History of Glasgow*, 37; Wodrow's *Analecta*, III. 185, 188, 339 (the last a story of second sight). Died 1769.

198. **JOHN JOHNSTOUN.** Admitted as physician. M.D. Utrecht, 1709. (Inaug. Diss., "De nutrimento, incremento et detrimento animalium.") His father's Christian name and profession were the same as his own, but his place of practice has not been ascertained. Second Professor of Medicine in the University of Glasgow (1714-51). Like Dr. Brisbane, he does not appear to have performed the duties of his Chair, as Wodrow says, "Dr. Johnstounn teaches as little and praelects none." (*Analecta*, III. 333.) President, 1737-38. Resigned his Chair in 1750.

199. **DAVID PATOUN.** Entered as physician prior to February, 1724. Son of No. 162. President, 1741-42. Married in 1727 Agnes, daughter of Thomas Baxter, merchant in Glasgow. M.D. (University not stated). Long a leading physician in Glasgow. His brother was Colonel Patoun, F.R.S., author of a once well-known treatise on *Navigation*; and his son Archibald was the Captain Patoun, a familiar figure under the Tontine piazza, the hero of Lockhart's *Lament*. Died in 1782.

200. **ROBERT LOW.** Entered 2nd October, 1721, on the same honorary terms as his father (No. 129) and his grandfather (No. 28). Writer to the Signet, Edinburgh.

201. **JOHN CAMPBELL,** Greenock.

202. **WILLIAM MAITLAND.** Entered as physician, in virtue of what degree does not appear. "Minister of the Gospel, Mauchline." His daughter, Mrs. Mary Stewart, a widow, was admitted a pensioner in 1744.

203. **ALEXANDER HORSBURGH.** Son-in-law of No. 156. He spent some time in China, from which place in 1721 he sent some "rarities" to the Faculty Museum. Died in 1745, bequeathing to the Faculty a small legacy. His son Harry, regarding whom the story of a curious litigation turning on the ownership of a sword is told in some of the histories of Glasgow (*Glasgow, Past and Present*, III. 296), was a partner of the firm of Anderson and Horsburgh, merchants in Glasgow. (See also what is said under No. 156.)

204. **JOHN LOCKHART.**

205. **ALLAN M'RAE.**

206. **WILLIAM SMELLIE.** Entered in 1732-33. Born at Lanark in 1697, in which burgh he began to practice about 1720, and continued up to 1739. After visiting Paris, he eventually settled in London, and began to teach midwifery, his demonstrations being remarkable for the ingenuity of his mechanical models. He soon became the leading exponent of man-midwifery in the Metropolis. By his improvement of the forceps, and in other ways, he contributed much to the progress of obstetrics. In 1752 he published *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Midwifery*, which went through many editions, and was translated into several languages. It was republished by the New Sydenham Society, and edited by Dr. M'Clintock of Dublin. This work was followed by his *Anatomical Tables* in 1754. In 1745 he received from the University of Glasgow the honorary degree of M.D. In 1759 he retired to

Lanark, where he died in 1763. (Rff. Glaister's *Dr. William Smellie and his Contemporaries*, 1894; M'Clintock's Memoir in Vol. I. of the New Sydenham Society edition of his *Midwifery*, 1876.)

207. **JAMES GARDINER**, Kilmaurs.

208. **ROBERT KELSO**, Beith.

209. **WALTER ALEXANDER.**

210. **JAMES CORBERTSON.**

211. **ROBERT FREEBAIRN**, Kilbride.

*** *The entries from* 212 *onwards are taken from the Minute Books.*

212. **THOMAS SIMSON**, Biggar. Entered in 1735.

213. **JOHN LOVE.** Entered in 1735, when he was resident in Greenock. Removed to Glasgow in 1740. Contributed to *Edinburgh Medical Essays* (v. 735), "Observations on the effects of Lignum Guaiacum in Cancer."

214. **JOHN M'FARLAND.** Entered 1735. Resident outside of Glasgow.

215. **THOMAS KILPATRICK**, Carntyne. Entered in 1735.

216. **ROBERT CHISHOLM.** Entered in 1735. Practised first at Blairs, afterwards at Skelmorlie.

217. **ARCHIBALD CROSBIE**, Carmunnock. Entered in 1735.

218. **GEORGE MONTGOMERIE.** Admitted as physician in 1735. M.D. Glasgow, 1732. There appears to have been another Dr. Montgomerie practising in Glasgow in 1712 (*Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis*, II. 402), who was also a member of the Faculty, as his daughter became a pensioner in 1745; his Christian name has not been ascertained. Dr. George Montgomerie was President in 1743-45. Died 1778, aged 73. (Rff. *Glasgow, Past and Present*, 1884, I. 509, 582; II. 524, *footnote.*)

220. **JAMES MUIR.** Entered in 1736. Practised first in Rutherglen and latterly in Glasgow. He was probably the earliest lecturer on midwifery in Glasgow, his advertisement appearing in the *Glasgow Journal*, No. 950, Oct. 15-22, 1769. (See p. 134.) For other references to him, see *Glasgow, Past and Present*, 1884, III. 161; *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*, 1883, Vol. II., 305.)

221. **NATHAN WILSON**, Greenock. Entered in 1736. Son of No. 157. Father of No. 286. (Ref. Weir's *History of Greenock*, 114.)

222. **JAMES GRIER.** Entered in 1736. Apprentice to No. 192.

223. **ROBERT BOGLE.** Entered in 1737.

224. **THOMAS GARVINE**, Ayr. Entered in 1738. Apprentice to No. 170.

225. **HECTOR M'LEAN**, Gorbals. Entered in 1739. Died 1782. He was long a pensioner of the Faculty.

226. **DAVID CORBETT.** Entered in 1739. His house or place of business was in the Faculty's property in Trongate, adjoining the first Faculty Hall.

227. **PARLAN M'FARLAN**, Dumbarton. Entered in 1739.

228. **GEORGE COLQUHOUN.** Entered in 1739. Apprentice to No. 203.

229. **JOHN CRAWFORD.** Entered in 1741. Son of John Crawford, Merchant in Glasgow. Visitor, 1751-53. The *Glasgow Journal* for 3rd Nov., 1755, has the notice—"Last week Mr. John Crawford, Surgeon in Glasgow, had a prize of £500 in the present lottery." (Other Rff., *Glasgow, Past and Present*, 1884, III. 157, 161; *The Regality Club*, 3rd Series, 21, *et seq.*)

230. **ROBERT HAMILTON.** Entered in 1743 as physician. M.D. Glasgow, 1742. A cadet of the Hamiltons of Airdrie, a branch of the house of Preston and Fingaltoun, the baronetcy of which was eventually assumed by his grand-nephew, Sir Wm. Hamilton, the metaphysician. His father was Rev. Wm. Hamilton, of Bothwell. Married Molly, daughter of John Baird of Craighton, described in the newspaper notice as "a beautiful young lady with a handsome fortune." (*Glasgow Journal*, 4th May, 1747.) President, 1745-47. He succeeded No. 195 as Professor of Anatomy and Botany in the University in 1742, and in 1756 he was transferred to the Chair of Medicine, and died the following year. Brother of No. 254. (For the pedigree of the family, see Crawfurd's *General Description of the Shire of Renfrew*, 1818. See also Veitch's *Life of Sir Wm. Hamilton*; Strang's *Glasgow Clubs*, 2nd ed., 21.)

231. **THOMAS HAMILTON**, Hamilton. Entered in 1743. Two years earlier he had entered into partnership with No. 234, which continued till Cullen's removal to Glasgow in 1744. (Thomson's *Life of Cullen*, I. 15.)

232. **ROBERT ANDERSON**, Dumbarton. Entered in 1743.

233. **JAMES ANDERSON.** Entered in 1744. Assistant for some time to No. 182.

234. **WILLIAM CULLEN.** Entered in 1744 as physician. Born in Hamilton in 1710, he was apprenticed to No. 192. After a voyage to the West Indies he returned to Hamilton, and began practice in Auchinlee, near his birthplace. In 1734-36 he went to study medicine at Edinburgh, and started practice in Hamilton in 1736, having as pupil from 1737 to 1740 William Hunter, afterwards so celebrated. In 1741 he entered into partnership with No. 231; and in 1744 settled in Glasgow, having taken his medical degree at the University of Glasgow in 1740. He at once began lecturing on medicine, chemistry, and other subjects, and in 1751 he succeeded Dr. Johnstoun as Professor of Medicine in the University, and quickly transformed the post from a sinecure to a working Chair. In 1755 he

transferred his services to the Edinburgh Medical School, and filled successively the Chairs of Chemistry, Institutes of Medicine, and Practice of Medicine; but his career in Edinburgh need not here be followed. President, 1747-49. He died in 1790. For a full Memoir, see Thomson's *Account of the Life and Writings of William Cullen, M.D.* (Vol. I., 1832; Vol. II., 1859). For condensed Memoir, see article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XIII. 279. Portrait by W. Cochrane in the Hunterian Museum; replica in the Faculty Hall.

234A. **CHRISTOPHER BANNATYNE**, Lanark. Entered in 1745.

235. **ROBERT CAMPBELL**, Paisley. Entered in 1745.

236. **ANDREW CRAIG**. Entered in 1745. His brother William was one of the city ministers, father of Lord Craig, one of the Senators of Justice. Married daughter of Rev. John M'Laurin, minister of Luss and afterwards of St. David's Parish, Glasgow. One of three daughters, Agnes, wife of a Mr. Maclehose, a Glasgow lawyer, was the "Clarinda" of the poet Burns, who met her in Edinburgh when she was living apart from her husband. This lady herself was a pensioner of the Faculty for some years after her father's death in 1782. Another daughter, Peggy, married Mr. Kennedy of Auchtyfardle, advocate.

237. **JOHN WILSON**, Hartridge of Douglas. Entered in 1745.

238. **JOHN CARRICK**. Entered in 1746. Son of Rev. Robert Carrick, minister of Houston, and brother of Robert Carrick of Monfode, a well-known Glasgow banker of his day. He acted as assistant to Dr. Robert Hamilton, Professor of Anatomy, and in collaboration with Dr. William Cullen, he also lectured on Chemistry and Materia Medica. He died prematurely in 1750. (Ref. to Thomson's *Life of Cullen*, I., 29.)

239. **ANDREW MORRIS**. Entered in 1747. Born in 1717. M.D. Rheims. Son of a Bailie Morris, who was also a member of the Faculty, but who has not been identified. Having failed in a legal suit to establish his claim to practise as a surgeon in virtue of his degree, he submitted himself to examination, and was licensed as a surgeon, having been apprenticed to his father. In 1757 he was reported as "now a Surgeon in the Army"; but he soon returned. In 1764 he applied for and obtained the use of the Faculty Hall for "Medicall Lectures." He was undoubtedly eccentric, though the story told about him in some histories of Glasgow of his inducing disease by experimenting whether himself or his horse would subsist longest on starvation diet is probably apocryphal (*Glasgow, Past and Present*, 1884, I. 350). It is true, however, that he was for many years paralyzed in his lower limbs, and became a pensioner on the Faculty. He had an *animus* against lawyers, and protested against the Faculty Clerk being of that profession. He edited an edition of Celsus in 2 vols., 1766. Died in 1788. (Ref. *Transactions*

of the Archeological Society of Glasgow, 1883, II. 304.) His house was in Dunlop Street.

240. **JOHN MORRISON**, Old Kilpatrick. Entered in 1747. Combined school-keeping with surgery.

241. **ALEXANDER MOLLISON**, Port-Glasgow. Entered in 1749.

242. **ROBERT MONTGOMERY**, Beith. Entered in 1749. He was one of several generations of medical members of the family in Beith. (Ref. *Cuninghame*, topographized by T. Pont, continued by J. Dobie. Glasgow, 1876.)

243. **JOHN GRAHAM**, Paisley. Entered in 1749.

244. **THOMAS LOGAN**, Dalmellington. Entered in 1749.

245. **NINIAN HILL**, Paisley Entered in 1750. Settled in Glasgow in 1754. Partner with No. 305. Resided in Trongate. (Ref. *Glasgow, Past and Present*, 1884, II. 205, 206.

246. **WILLIAM MORRIS**, Kilmarnock. Entered in 1750.

247. **WILLIAM DEANS**, Stewarton. Entered in 1750.

248. **WILLIAM MUIR**, Kilmarnock. Entered in 1750.

249. **WILLIAM RALSTON**. Entered in 1750.

250. **ANDREW RIDDALL**, Gorbals. Entered in 1750.

251. **JOHN MOORE**. Entered in 1751. Son of Rev. Charles Moore, Stirling, and Marion, daughter of Rev. John Anderson, Glasgow. Educated at Glasgow University, and apprenticed to Nos. 187 and 191 jointly. In 1747 he was appointed surgeons' mate, and was at Maestricht when the hospitals were filled with the wounded from the battle of Laffeldt. He was then promoted to be assistant surgeon to the Coldstream Guards. In 1747 he returned to London, attending the lectures of Dr. Wm. Hunter and Dr. Wm. Smellie, and afterwards studied in Paris. In 1751 he entered into partnership with his old master, John Gordon, and on the latter restricting himself to the practice of a physician he took as partner No. 254, and afterwards No. 288. Married Jane, daughter of Rev. John Simson, Professor of Divinity in the University. In 1770 he took his degree at the University, which limited him to medical practice while in Glasgow. Two years later he left the town to travel with the Duke of Hamilton, remaining five years on the Continent, and returned in 1778, when he settled in practice in London. He re-visited Glasgow in 1786, and next year corresponded with the poet Burns. In 1792 he visited France, publishing a "Journal" of the visit in two volumes, 1792-1794. He died in 1802. He had several sons, one of whom was Sir John Moore, the hero of Corunna; and another, James Carrick Moore, a London surgeon, author of the *History of Vaccination* and *History of the Smallpox*. Besides his literary works, the best known of which is his novel

Zeluco, he published in 1786 *Medical Sketches*. While in Glasgow he lived in Trongate, opposite the Tron Church, and subsequently in Dunlop Street. (Rff. Thomson's *Life of Cullen*, I. 585; *Glasgow, Past and Present*, 1884, II. 436, 461, 482; Strang's *Glasgow Clubs*, 2nd edition, 37, 40.

252. **ROBERT WALLACE.** Entered in 1751. Son of No. 189. Resided first in King Street and afterwards in Princes' Street. One of the original Managers of the Royal Infirmary. He was apprenticed to his father, and also attended lectures under Cullen, and when an old man he wrote to Dr. Thomson, Cullen's biographer, a letter containing his reminiscences of Cullen and the young Glasgow Medical School. (*Life of Cullen*, I. 3.) Died in 1812.

253. **ANDREW TENNANT**, Strathaven. Entered in 1751. Apprentice of No. 161A.

254. **THOMAS HAMILTON.** Entered in 1751. Brother of No. 230 (*q.v.*), and father of No. 309. Born in 1728, his father being Rev. Wm. Hamilton of Bothwell. Apprentice of No. 229, and, unlike his brother, not a graduate in medicine. Entered into partnership with No. 251, which continued till 1757. He succeeded No. 275 as Professor of Anatomy and Botany in the University. Was an intimate friend of Dr. Black and the two Hunters, William and John, who much esteemed him. He was a man of social accomplishments, endowed with wit and humour, and his society was courted by lovers of good fellowship in Glasgow. (Cleghorn in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, Vol. IV. 38.) Married Isabel, daughter of Rev. William Anderson, first Professor of Church History in the University. Died in 1781. (Rff. Strang's *Glasgow Clubs*, 2nd edition; Veitch's *Memoir of Sir William Hamilton*, 16.)

255. **JOHN BROWN.** Entered in 1751. Apprentice to No. 162A.

256. **JAMES ZUILL**, Kilbride. Entered in 1751. His father, William Zuill, also a surgeon in Kilbride, was probably a member, but his name has not been found.

257. **JOHN WEIR**, Lesmahagow. Entered in 1751.

258. **ROBERT DICK.** Entered as physician in 1751. M.D. Glasgow, 1751. Son of Mr. Robert Dick, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University. He succeeded to his father's Chair in 1751. He may not have been in practice, but he gave great attention to Faculty business, and was President in 1751-53. Died in 1757. (Rff. Strang's *Glasgow Clubs*, 2nd edition, 21; Duncan's *Literary History of Glasgow*, 68.)

259. **GAVIN MARSHALL**, Lesmahagow. Entered in 1751.

260. **THOMAS STEWART**, Pollokshaws. Entered in 1751.

261. **THOMAS CLARK**, Greenock. Entered in 1752. He united the offices of surgeon and minister.

262. **JOHN M'LEAN.** Entered in 1753. Son of Rev. Archibald M'Lean, Mull. Apprentice to his uncle, No. 225.

263. **JOHN HUNTER,** Airdrie. Entered in 1753. Afterwards removed to Port-Glasgow.

264. **GILBERT LAWSON,** Paisley. Entered in 1754.

266. **JAMES ARTHUR.** Entered in 1755.

267. **JOHN HALL** or **MAXWELL.** Entered in 1755. Partner with No. 274.

268. **THOMAS STUART,** Pollokshaws. Entered in 1755.

269. **JAMES GRAHAM,** Paisley. Entered in 1755.

270. **JAMES SWAN,** Dumbarton. Entered in 1756.

271. **JAMES FLINT,** Dumbarton. Entered in 1756.

272. **ALEXANDER STEVENSON** of Dolgain. Entered in 1756 as physician. M.D. Glasgow, 1749. Son of Dr. John Stevenson, Edinburgh, and uncle of No. 329. Professor of Medicine in the University of Glasgow, 1766-89. President, 1757-58, 1773-75. Married Jean, only child of John Picken of Ibrox and Jean Barns his wife. Father of Sir James Stevenson Barns, a colonel in the army, who assumed the additional surname on succeeding to the estate of John Barns of Barns. (The estate of Dolgain in Ayrshire, which belonged to Dr. Stevenson, is now part of the estate of Sorn.) He took an active part in the preliminary steps for establishing the Royal Infirmary. In 1789 he resigned his Chair from ill-health, and died in 1791. (Rff. *Glasgow, Past and Present*, 1884, II. 477, 509, 598; III. 410; Strang's *Glasgow Clubs*, 2nd edition, 46, in which is given his epitaph by the poet of the "Hodge Podge Club"; *Medical Commentaries*, XVI. 426; *Board of Green Cloth*, 73 *et seq.*)

273. **JOHN COOK,** Hamilton. Entered as a physician in 1756. M.D. St. Andrews. He subsequently travelled in the East, and in 1770 published in Edinburgh, in two volumes, *Voyages and Travels through the Russian Empire, Tartary, and part of the Kingdom of Persia.*

274. **ALEXANDER PARLANE.** Entered in 1756. Partner with No. 267.

275. **JOSEPH BLACK.** Entered in 1757 as physician. M.D. Edinburgh, 1754. President, 1759-60. This celebrated chemist was born at Bordeaux in 1728, and educated in Belfast and at Glasgow University. In 1750 he went to Edinburgh to complete his medical education begun at Glasgow under Cullen, who detected his genius for natural science, and made him his assistant and personal friend. His graduation thesis, "De humore acido in cibis orto et magnesia alba," which, in a developed form, was published in *Essays and Observations* in 1756, established the separation of carbonic acid, thereby opening up a wide field of research. In 1756 he was appointed Professor of Anatomy in the University of Glasgow, which Chair he next year

exchanged for that of Medicine on the death of Dr. Robert Hamilton. Whilst in Glasgow he completed his other great scientific achievement by the exposition in 1761 of the doctrine of Latent Heat, which, though taught by him, and expounded to a Literary Society in Glasgow, he did not take the trouble to publish in the ordinary way. In 1766 he was appointed to succeed Cullen in the Chair of Chemistry in Edinburgh, which he filled till his death in 1799. President, 1759-61, 1765-66. (Rff. Grant's *History of the University of Edinburgh*, II. 395; *Dictionary of National Biography*, V. 112; *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*, I. 109.)

276. **WILLIAM TENNANT.** Entered in 1758. Married Margaret Straitton. Died in 1777.

277. **JOHN GIBSON.** Entered in 1759 as physician. M.D. Leyden. President, 1761-62. House in Virginia Street.

278. **JOHN M'ARTHUR,** Pollokshaws. Entered in 1759.

279. **ROBERT YOUNG.** Entered in 1761.

280. **COLIN DOUGLAS.** Entered in 1763 as physician. M.D. St. Andrews, and a fellow-student with Cullen in Edinburgh. He had been surgeon to the Welsh Fusileers, and had also travelled for some years. President, 1766-69. Mr. John Dunlop, the elegiac poet of the "Hodge Podge Club," honoured him with an epitaph, which is given in the Club's Records. (Strang's *Glasgow Clubs*, 2nd edition, 46.) Moore's stanza, written while he was still alive, is however better:

> "Despising all airs, detesting all arts,
> The thought bursts spontaneous from Douglas's heart;
> Of the dregs of his vigour the best let us make,
> He may do for a leech, though he's done for a rake."

The last two lines refer to his premature physical decay, which ended in an early death.

281. **JOHN HARDIE.** Entered in 1764.

282. **JAMES PARLANE.** Entered in 1764. Residence, Callendar's land, west side of Stockwell. Died in 1805.

283. **JOHN STEVENSON,** Paisley. Entered in 1765.

284. **GAVIN FULLERTON,** Greenock. Entered in 1765. His son John was one of the "Mediciner" Trustees of Anderson's University, nominated in the will of the founder. Died in 1795. (Ref. Weir's *History of Greenock*, 114.)

285. **PETER WRIGHT.** Entered as physician in 1766. M.D. St. Andrews, 1765. President, 1771-73, 1777-79, 1785-87, 1795-97, 1804-6 (five times in all). Residence at the corner of Trongate and the west side of Virginia Street. First President of Anderson's University, to the Chair of the Theory of Medicine of which he had been designated by Dr. John Anderson's will. He is stated to have been the last prominent Glasgow citizen who continued "to

walk the plane-stones," as the daily promenade under the Tontine Piazza was called. (*Glasgow, Past and Present*, 1884, I. 350.) He died in 1819. He had two sons who attained to high rank in the army.

286. **WILLIAM WILSON**, Greenock. Entered in 1768. Son of No. 221. (Ref. Weir's *History of Greenock*, 114.)

287. **ROBERT MARSHALL.** Entered in 1766 as a physician. M.A. Glasgow, 1749; M.D. Glasgow, 1765. President, 1769-71, 1779-81, 1787-89. Residence in Argyle Street.

288. **ALEXANDER DUNLOP.** Entered in 1765. His grandfather was Alexander Dunlop, Professor of Greek in the University of Glasgow (1704-46), who was the son of William Dunlop, Principal of the University (1690-1700). Married Jane Anderson, The Field, near St. Rollox; (her sister Janet married Andrew Anderson, Greenock, whose son was No. 436). He resided successively in Argyle Street, corner of Virginia Street, in 1807 in Queen Street, and in 1811 in St. Enoch's Square. He was partner, first with Dr. Moore, shortly before the latter left Glasgow, and afterwards with Mr. John Burns. He was surgeon to the Glasgow Royal Volunteers, and one of the original Managers of the Royal Infirmary. Father of No. 356. Died in 1815. (Rff. Cleland's *Annals*, I. 277; *Glasgow, Ancient and Modern*, II. 1249; *Board of Green Cloth*, 61, 62.)

289. **GEORGE COCHRANE**, Strathaven. Entered in 1769. Removed to King Street, Glasgow, in 1777.

291. **CHARLES WILSONE.** Entered in 1770. Resided in Stockwell Street, and afterwards in Buchanan Street. One of the first surgeons to the Glasgow Royal Infirmary. Surgeon to the "Armed Association," and one of the original "Mediciner" Trustees of Anderson's University. On 20th January, 1787, he was knocked down at night in Argyle Street and robbed by two men, who suffered the penalty of death for the crime. Father of No. 396, and father-in-law of William Brown of Kilmardinny, and grandfather of Charles Wilsone Brown of Wemyss. Died in 1820. (Rff. Cleland's *Annals*, I. 287; *Glasgow, Past and Present*, II. 204; III. 399; Frazer, *The Story of the Making of Buchanan Street*, 53, 104.)

292. **ALEXANDER MURRAY.** Entered in 1770.

293. **DAVID COLQUHOUN**, Greenock. Entered in 1771.

294. **WILLIAM WHYTE.** Entered in 1771.

295. **JOHN HOW**, Kilbarchan. Entered in 1771. Another of the medical family of the house of Dampton and Pennelt, to which belonged Nos. 44, 145, 183. Writing in 1782, Semple states that the present was the twelfth John in direct descent, and the eighth who had been engaged in medical practice. He had a son John who died in 1797. Father-in-law of No. 312. Died in

1816. (Ref. Crawfurd's *General Description of the Shire of Renfrew*, by Robertson, 1818, 378.)

296. **JOHN JACK**, Hamilton. Entered in 1772.

297. **WILLIAM BROWN**, Hamilton. Entered in 1772.

298. **WILLIAM IRVINE.** Entered as physician in 1773. The son of a Glasgow merchant, he was born in 1743, entered the University in 1756, and studied chemistry under Black, whom he assisted in his first experiments on the heat of steam. M.D. Glasgow, 1766. President, 1775-77, 1783-85. In 1766 he was appointed lecturer on Materia Medica in the University, and in 1770 he also succeeded Robison in the lectureship of Chemistry. In his experimental work he devoted himself mainly to the improvement of industrial processes, paying special attention to the manufactures of his native city. It was while he was working at the improvement of glass-making processes that he was attacked with fever, and died in 1787. By his wife, Grace Hamilton, he had a son, No. 360, who published after his death his *Essays, chiefly on Chemical Subjects*, Lond. 1805. Cleghorn describes his lectures as remarkable for erudition, evincing great capacity and power of elucidation. (Rff. Black's *Lectures on Chemistry*, I. 504; Preface to his *Essays* as above; *Medical Commentary*, XII. 415.)

299. **WILLIAM M'AULAY.** Entered in 1773.

300. **THOMAS SMITH.** Entered in 1773.

301. **WILLIAM ANDERSON.** Entered in 1773.

302. **JOHN JAMIESON.** Entered in 1774. Residence, Jamieson's Land, King Street. He is stated to have introduced into Glasgow the use of the umbrella. (*Glasgow, Past and Present*, 1884, II. 182; III. 390.) Died in 1809.

304. **JAMES SOMERS.** Entered in 1776, having come to Glasgow from Lanark. Married Margaret, the sister of Denholm, the historian of the City. Somers died shortly after his admission, his widow and after her his two daughters becoming pensioners of the Faculty, one of the latter continuing on the list till about 1854, nearly eighty years after his death.

305. **JAMES MONTEATH.** Entered in 1777. Son of Mr. James Monteath, a manufacturer in Anderston. He was one of the original Trustees nominated by Dr. John Anderson for his College, being also designated by him as the first Professor of Practice of Medicine in the institution, of which he was made President in 1801. His place of practice was long in Leitch's land, Trongate, where he worked in partnership with No. 245, and afterwards with No. 312. In 1781 married Mary, daughter of John Adam, who built the Broomielaw Bridge in 1768, and also afterwards Adam's Court. Surgeon to the Royal Glasgow Volunteer Light Horse. For some time about 1778 he appears to have lectured on Midwifery (p. 134). In 1803 he is styled "Dr." in the

Minutes; from what University he obtained the degree does not appear; nor did he restrict himself to medical practice. President, 1820-22, being the first President who was not a "pure" physician. Died in 1834. (Rff. *Glasgow, Past and Present*, 1884, II. 116; Cleland's *Annals*, I. 288.)

306. **ROBERT SIMPSON.** Entered in 1778, having previously practised in Birmingham. His residence was in King Street, and afterwards in Princes' Street.

307. **ARCHIBALD YOUNG.** Entered in 1778. Son of Robert Young, cooper, Candleriggs. Residence in Saltmarket, and subsequently in Soaperie Close, east side of Candleriggs. One of the first surgeons of the Glasgow Royal Infirmary. In 1792 the Faculty offered a reward of fifty guineas for the discovery of the persons who had made a daring attempt on his life, but it does not appear that the reward was ever claimed. In the same year he married Isabel, daughter of William Semple, merchant, Port-Glasgow. Died in 1818. (Ref. *Glasgow, Past and Present*, 1884, III. 449.)

308. **ALEXANDER STENHOUSE.** Entered in 1779. Had been in America previously.

309. **WILLIAM HAMILTON.** Entered in 1780. B.A. Glasgow, 1775; M.A., 1776; M.D. Edinburgh, 1779. Son of No. 254, and nephew of No. 230. He was born in Glasgow in 1758, and educated at the University. He also studied medicine for two years in Edinburgh, and subsequently in London under Dr. William Hunter, who entrusted him with the charge of his Dissecting Room. He was recalled to assist his father, and on his death in 1781 he was nominated to succeed him in the Chair of Anatomy in the University. In addition to this subject, he taught also Botany and Midwifery, in which last named branch he had a large consulting practice. Partner with No. 328. Married Elizabeth, daughter of William Stirling, of the old family of Glasgow Stirlings. Died in 1790, aged thirty-two. A memorial tablet with a Latin inscription was erected to him in the Cathedral nave. He left two sons who attained to eminence; the elder, Sir William Hamilton, the metaphysician, and Captain Thomas Hamilton, the accomplished author of *Cyril Thornton*. (Rff. Veitch's *Memoir of Sir William Hamilton*, 10; *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, 6th November, 1792; Crawfurd's *Renfrewshire*, 293-98.

310. **JOHN CREE.** Entered in 1783. Resided in High Street, and afterwards in Gallowgate. Died in 1829. (Ref. *Glasgow, Past and Present*, 1884, II. 205; III. 493.

311. **WILLIAM PARLANE.** Entered in 1783. Son of No. 274.

312. **WILLIAM COOPER** or **COUPER.** Entered in 1783. Born in 1757. Educated in Glasgow, he qualified as M.R.C.S. England. President in 1822-24. He was one of the "Mediciner" Trustees nominated by Dr. John Anderson, and also designated by him as Professor of Chemistry in his institution. For some time partner with No. 305. One of the first surgeons of the Glasgow Royal Infirmary, and surgeon to the 2nd Regiment Trades House Volunteers.

He became a partner of Charles Tennant and Co., of St. Rollox Chemical Works, and was also an original partner of the Glasgow Apothecaries' Company. Father of 418. Married the daughter of No. 295. Died in 1843. (Rff. Cleland's *Annals*, I. 283; *Glasgow, Past and Present*, 1884, II. 116; Crawfurd's *Shire of Renfrew*, 1818, 378.)

314. **JOHN RIDDELL.** Entered in 1783. M.D. He was credited with some talent in painting. Published *Remarks on the Nature, Causes, and Cure of Continued Fevers* (Glasgow, Foulis, 1788) Residence in Saltmarket.. Died in 1819.

315. **JAMES MARSHALL.** Entered in 1784. Apprentice to No. 289.

316. **WILLIAM NIMMO.** Entered in 1785. Resided in 1789 above 169 High Street. Married Janet Hamilton. He is stated by Strang to have been the first medical man in Glasgow to inoculate with cow-pox. Father of No. 369(?). Brother of No. 327, who was his partner. Died in 1802. (Ref. Strang's *Glasgow Clubs*, 2nd edition, 248.)

317. **JOHN SCRUTON.** Entered in 1785. Son of Mr. John Scruton, who in 1749 was brought from London to Glasgow at the instigation of the Magistrates to teach "Italian writing." Apprentice to No. 302. One of the "Mediciner" Trustees nominated by Dr. John Anderson for his University, and also designated as "Professor of Clinical Cases." He resided in Candleriggs, his laboratory being in King Street. Brother and partner of No. 326. Died in 1833. (Rff. *Glasgow, Past and Present*, 1884, I. 312; II. 203; Strang's *Glasgow Clubs*, 2nd edition, 60.)

318. **JAMES FOSTER,** Port-Glasgow. Entered in 1785.

319. **JOHN FRAZER,** Lanark. Entered in 1785.

320. **PHILIP WHITESIDE,** Ayr. Entered in 1785.

321. **WALTER BAIRD.** Entered in 1785. Resided in Candleriggs. (*Glasgow, Past and Present*, 1884, II. 104-5.)

322. **THOMAS DUNCAN.** Entered in 1785. He left Glasgow and settled in Strathaven. Married Marion Tennent. Died in 1808.

323. **ROBERT CLEGHORN.** Entered in 1786. M.D. Edinburgh, 1783 (Thesis, "De Somno"). President, 1788-91. Lecturer on Materia Medica in Glasgow University, 1788-91; on Chemistry, 1791-1818. Residence in 1789 in Spreull's Land, north side of Trongate, afterwards in College Street.

First physician to the Glasgow Royal Asylum for lunatics; one of the original Managers of the Royal Infirmary, and also one of the two first physicians. Married Margaret, granddaughter of Andrew Thomson of Faskin. He was a considerable contributor to the periodical medical press, and his biographical notices of some of his contemporaries were especially sympathetic and neat. Died in 1821. His portrait by Raeburn is in the Royal Lunatic Asylum.

324. **JAMES ALEXANDER.** Entered in 1786. Residence in Wallace Court, Bell's Wynd. Private lecturer on Materia Medica. Died in 1817. (Ref. *Lancet*, 1827, XII. 796.

325. **DUGALD MACLACHLAN.** Entered in 1787. Place of practice, 16 High Street. He emigrated to the West Indies, where he died in 1807.

326. **WILLIAM SCRUTON.** Entered in 1787. Brother and partner of No. 317 (*q.v.*). Married Mary Scruton, his cousin. Removed to London, where he died in 1803. (Ref. *Glasgow, Past and Present*, II. 203, 207.)

327. **ALEXANDER NIMMO.** Entered in 1787. Brother and partner of No. 316.

328. **JAMES TOWERS.** Entered in 1787. Educated at the Edinburgh Medical School. C.M. Glasgow, 1817; Licentiate Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh. Partner with No. 309 till the death of the latter in 1790. Married Helen, daughter of James Maclehose of Newlands. In 1815 he was appointed first Professor of Midwifery in the University of Glasgow. Surgeon to the 2nd Regiment of Glasgow Volunteers. Father of Towers Clark, a well-known Glasgow solicitor, and of No. 385. Died in 1820.

329. **THOMAS CHARLES HOPE,** F.R.S. Entered in 1789. Son of John Hope, Professor of Botany in the University of Edinburgh, he was born in 1766, and educated at Edinburgh University, where he graduated M.D. in 1787 (Thesis, "Quaedam de plantarum motibus et vita"). President, 1791-93. Lecturer on Chemistry in the University of Glasgow, 1787-91; on Materia Medica, 1788-91. On the resignation of his uncle (No. 272) of the Chair of Medicine, he was appointed his successor, thus teaching three subjects up to 1791. In 1796 he was appointed colleague to Dr. Black in the Chair of Chemistry in the University of Edinburgh. He excelled rather as a lucid teacher and neat demonstrator than as an original investigator, though his name is associated with the demonstration he gave in a series of experiments of the existence of a peculiar earth in strontianite, and he also established that water attains its maximum density several degrees above the freezing point. Died in 1844. (Rff. *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, 1844; Grant's *Story of the University of Edinburgh*, II. 397; *Life of Christison*, I. 57.)

330. **WILLIAM PENMAN.** Entered in 1789. His dispensary was on the west side of King Street. Died in 1835.

331. **PATRICK MUSCHET.** Entered in 1790. Residence in Stockwell. He went to the East Indies, and subsequently settled in Stirling, where he died in 1837.

332. **PETER ROLLAND.** Entered in 1790. He went to the West Indies for some years, and on his return settled near Milngavie, subsequently in Maryhill and Glasgow. Married Helen Colquhoun. By the will of Dr. John Anderson he was designated to be Professor of Practical Surgery in his institution. Died in 1825. (Ref. Thomson's *Notes on Maryhill*, 95.)

333. **WILLIAM HENDERSON.** Entered in 1790. M.D. Edinburgh, 1784 (Thesis, "De vita marina"). At his admission he requested that he should be entered "without an appeal to the Deity," but the Faculty declined to dispense with the oath sworn on entry, and he took it. Four years after he repented of his swearing, and requested to be absolved from the oath, and, further, that as he was leaving town his entrance fee should be returned. Both requests were refused. He settled in Bo'ness, and died there in 1806. He published *Observations . . . relative to the History and Cure of the Plague.* Lond. 1689 (a misprint for 1789); also *General View of the Natural Progress of Human Life.* Part I. Glasg. 1791.

334. **WILLIAM ANDERSON.** Entered in 1790. He was Professor designate of Obstetrics by Dr. John Anderson's will in the Andersonian University. Surgeon to the Anderston Volunteer Corps. Died in 1819. (Ref. Cleland's *Annals*, I. 286.)

335. **JOHN HUME.** Entered in 1790. Died in 1825.

339. **ROBERT COWAN.** Entered in 1790. Born in 1768, son of Robert Cowan of Carronbank and Lillias Horsburgh, daughter of No. 203. One of the original "Mediciner" Trustees under Dr. John Anderson's will, and therein designated Professor of Botany in his institution. Married Helen, daughter of Rev. John M'Caul, one of the ministers of Glasgow. Surgeon to the Highland Volunteers. (Cleland's *Annals*, I. 284.) Father of No. 420. Died in 1808.

340. **JAMES JEFFRAY.** Entered in 1791. Born at Kilsyth in 1759, he was educated at the University of Edinburgh, where he graduated in Medicine in 1786 (Thesis, "Quaedam de placenta praeponens"). Appointed Professor of Anatomy in the University of Glasgow in 1790. Married (1) Mary, daughter of Walter Brisbane, merchant in Glasgow, in 1794; and (2) Margaret, daughter of James Lockhart, ironmonger, Saltmarket. President, 1793-95. He was the inventor of the chain saw. In 1835 he published in Glasgow *Observations on the Heart and on the Peculiarities of the Foetus*; and in the same year he also published there a work giving a translation of the recorded cases of Excision of Joints, by Park and Moreau, with observations on the subject by himself. Father of No. 484. Died in 1848.

341. **JOHN M'LEAN.** Entered in 1791. Married Phoebe Bainbridge. Emigrated to America, and published, in 1797, *Two Lectures on Combustion* (Philadelphia). Died in 1813.

342. **JOHN ROBERTSON.** Entered in 1791. M.D. St. Andrews. He went to the West Indies, where he died in 1797.

343. **JAMES LAPSLEY.** Entered in 1792. Died in 1793.

344. **JOHN BURNS.** Entered in 1796. Born in 1774, son of Rev. John Burns, D.D., of the Barony Church. Educated at Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities. On his appointment as surgeon to the Royal Infirmary, he resolved to give

clinical lectures, being apparently the first to do so in Glasgow. In 1797 he opened a private Anatomy School in Virginia Street, in which he taught anatomy, surgery, and latterly also midwifery, and about the end of the century removed his school to College Street. Eventually he handed over anatomy to be taught by his brother Allan. In 1799 he was taken under the wing of Anderson's College, teaching Anatomy and Surgery probably in John Street. In 1815 he was appointed first Professor of Surgery of the University. In private practice his partner was No. 298, and subsequently No. 378. F.R.S. and Member of the Institute of France.

In 1828 he took the degree of M.D. in the University, having in 1817 received the surgical degree (C.M.). In 1833, after the abolition of the rule making only "pure" physicians eligible for the office, Dr. Burns, though Professor of Surgery, was appointed one of the hospital physicians. Married Isabella, daughter of Rev. John Duncan of Alva. Father of No. 471. On 18th June, 1850, he was drowned in the wreck of the "Orion." Portrait of him by Graham Gilbert in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow. He published amongst others:

Dissertation on Inflammation. 2 Vols. Glasgow, 1800.—*Observations on Abortions.* Lond. 1806.—*Practical Observations on Uterine Haemorrhage, with Remarks on the Management of the Placenta.* Lond. 1807.—*The Principles of Midwifery.* Lond. 1809, which went through ten editions, and was translated.—*Popular Directions for the Treatment of the Diseases of Women and Children.* Lond. 1811.—*The Principles of Surgery.* 2 Vols. Lond. 1824-38.—*Principles of Christian Philosophy.* 1828.

(Rff. *Medical Times*, 1850, I. 148-50; *Biog. Dict. of Eminent Scots.* I. 252.)

346. **ROBERT FREER** of Essendy. Entered as physician in 1796. Born in 1745; studied in Edinburgh, and graduated M.A. 1765, M.D. 1779, King's College, Aberdeen. Entering the army, he served as ensign and surgeon in the American War, and was present at the battle of Bunker's Hill. President, 1797-1800. In 1796 he was appointed Professor of Medicine in the University of Glasgow, and in the subsequent year physician of the Royal Infirmary, an office he intermittently held for several years, his last term of office being 1813-15. He was Captain in the Armed Association. Married Margaret Thomson; his only son predeceased him. Died in 1827, a Latin epitaph marking his grave in the High Churchyard. (Rff. Gordon's *Vade-Mecum to the Cathedral*, Glasg. 1894; Strang's *Glasgow Clubs*, 2nd edition, 244, 246, 249, 251; *Glasgow Medical Examiner*, II. 97-99.)

347. **JOHN M'NISH.** Entered in 1796. Father of and partner with No. 451. Resided successively in Argyle Street, Buchanan Street, and latterly in West George Street. President, 1828-30. Died in 1860.

348. **JOHN GIBSON.** Entered in 1797. Father of and partner with No. 417, the firm in 1834 being given as John and David Gibson, 17 Gordon Street. President, 1830-32. Died in 1844.

349. **JOHN GRIEVE.** Entered in 1797. Married Elizabeth Galloway. Died in 1820

350. **THOMAS GARNETT.** Entered as physician in 1798. Born in Westmoreland in 1766, he studied at the University of Edinburgh, where he adopted Brunonian views. Graduated M.D. Edinburgh, 1788 (Thesis, "De Visu"). He practised successively at Bradford, Knaresburgh, and Harrogate. A casual invitation to lecture in Liverpool, to which city he had gone to arrange for a passage to America, brought to light his great powers of popular exposition in science, and this led to his being invited in 1798 to accept the Professorship of Natural Science in Anderson's University, then in process of being inaugurated. Both as a lecturer and a medical practitioner he had much success in Glasgow. In 1799 he was appointed lecturer in the Royal Institution, but differences arising between him and Count Rumford, the presiding genius of the institution, he resigned in two years, and began practice in London. Married in 1795 Catherine Grace Cleveland. He was carried off by typhus fever in 1802.

351. **MOSES GARDNER.** Entered in 1798. Surgeon-Visitor, 1815. Died in 1823.

352. **WILLIAM WILSON.** Entered in 1798. Died in 1799.

353. **WILLIAM LECKIE.** Entered in 1799. Apprentice of No. 311. Surgeon to the Volunteeer Light Horse. His labours in the great epidemic of typhus fever of 1818-20 are appreciatively spoken of by Cleland (*Rise and Progress of Glasgow*, 106) and by Strang (*Glasgow Clubs*, 2nd ed., 369).

354. **THOMAS BROWN.** Entered in 1799. Grandson of No. 158. Son of Thomas Brown of Langside, some time surgeon on board an East Indiaman, afterwards in London, who built Langside House. M.D. Edin., 1798 (Thesis, "De Hydarthro"). Married Marion, sister of Francis Jeffrey of the *Edinburgh Review*. In 1829 he succeeded to the estates of Waterhaugh and Lanfine; he sold Langside in 1852. Surgeon to the Glasgow Royal Infirmary for several years between 1804-10, and physician 1824-28. He lectured for some years on Botany in the University, before the foundation of the Chair in that subject. Died in 1853, bequeathing his large collection of minerals and fossils to the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow in equal shares. A paper of 1820 left by him in MS., entitled "Cases of Sore Throat ending in Croup," was published by Dr. James Finlayson in 1881, as a contribution to the early history of diphtheria in Scotland. His portrait is in possession of his daughter, Miss Martha Brown of Lanfine. (Ref. *The Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry*, 160.)

355. **RICHARD MILLAR** of Wellhouse. Entered in 1799 as physician. M.D. Glasgow, 1789 (Thesis, "De morbi venerei natura, atque de facultate propriâ"). In 1791 appointed Lecturer on Materia Medica in the University of Glasgow, his lectureship being made a professorship in 1831. In 1796 appointed physician to the Glasgow Royal Infirmary, a position which he held, with occasional intervals, till his death in 1833. In the terrible fever epidemic of 1818-19 his labours were untiring, and by his pen he also attempted to impress the public authorities with a proper sense of their

duties in the way of ameliorating measures. He took a prominent part in the contest waged in the Royal Infirmary in reference to the appointment of other than "pure" physicians. In 1811 he published *Disquisitions on the History of Medicine*, Part I. (Edinburgh). He was also the author of several pamphlets on fever in Glasgow, and of a volume of *Clinical Lectures on the Contagious Typhus*. Glasgow, 1833. President, 1800-2, 1806-8, 1818-20, 1826-28.

356. **WILLIAM DUNLOP.** Entered in 1799. Son of No. 288. Surgeon to the First Regiment of Glasgow Volunteers. (Cleland's *Annals*, I. 281.) He is stated (*Glasgow, Past and Present*, II. 190) to have been the first to deliver clinical lectures in Glasgow Royal Infirmary; this, however, is an error, as he was preceded by Mr. John Burns. About 1805 he associated himself with a Licentiate of the Faculty, Mr. Samuel Hunter, under the firm of Samuel Hunter & Co., in the conducting and publication of the *Glasgow Herald*. Married Anne Ferguson. Died in 1809.

357. **JOHN M'ARTHUR.** Entered in 1800. Surgeon to the "Glasgow Sharpshooters." (Cleland's *Annals*, I. 284). President, 1832-34. Died unmarried in 1837. In 1880 his niece, Miss Jean M'Arthur, bequeathed £500 to the Faculty to found an University Medical Bursary under their management in memory of her uncle.

358. **ARCHIBALD MILLAR.** Entered in 1800. Practised for some years in Anderston, and was subsequently surgeon to the 47th Regiment of Foot, spending a number of years in India. Died in Edinburgh in 1852.

359. **JOHN BALMANNO.** Entered as physician in 1801. M.D. Edinburgh, 1798 (Thesis, "De debilium palpitatione"). His mother's drug-shop, at the sign of the Golden Galen's Head, north end of the Laigh Kirk Close, was well known and much frequented; while the old lady's physic garden was situated on the Deanside Brae, now known as Balmano Street. One of the "Mediciner" Trustees under the will of Professor John Anderson, and designated to the Chair of Materia Medica in his institution. During the visitation of the great fever epidemic in 1818-20 he was honourably distinguished for his activity and zeal, and his private beneficence was great at all times. He was physican to the Royal Infirmary, with intervals, from 1804. President, 1802-4, 1812-14. He was physician to the Royal Asylum for Lunatics, in which is his portrait, painted by Raeburn. His residence latterly was in St. Vincent place. Died, unmarried, 31st December, 1840. (Rff. *Glasgow, Past and Present*, I. 221; II. 113, 115; Cleland's *Rise and Progress of Glasgow*, p. 106; Strang's *Glasgow Clubs*, 127.)

360. **WILLIAM IRVINE.** Entered in 1802. M.D. Edinburgh, 1798 (Thesis, "De Epispasticis"). Son of No. 298. Born in Glasgow in 1776, and educated in Glasgow and Edinburgh. His thesis on graduating in Medicine is stated to have been based on an unpublished essay of his father's on "Nervous Diseases." Entered the army as Physician to the Forces. In 1810 appeared

his most important contribution to medicine, entitled, *Some Observations upon Diseases, chiefly as they occur in Sicily* (Lond.). He died of fever in Malta in the year following the publication of this work. His *Letters on Sicily* were published posthumously.

361. **JAMES CORKINDALE.** Entered in 1803. M.D. Edinburgh, 1801 ("Thesis, "De vigore et debilitate eorumque signis in corpore humano"). LL.B. Glasgow. Surgeon to the Grocers' Corps. (Cleland's *Annals*, I. 285.) He was long resident in Glassford Street, and was for many years Medico-Legal Examiner in Criminal Cases. President, 1834-36. Married Marion Munn. Died in 1842. Portrait in Faculty Hall.

362. **HUGH MILLER.** Entered in 1803. Surgeon to the Royal Infirmary. Died 1818. (Rff. text, p. 148; Buchanan's *History of Glasgow Royal Infirmary*, 13.)

363. **ANDREW URE.** Entered as physician in 1803. Born in Glasgow in 1778, and studied at the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, at the former of which he graduated M.D. in 1801. In 1804 he was appointed Professor in Anderson's University to lecture on physical science to popular classes. His class-rooms were filled to overflowing, as many as 400 attending. He specially directed the attention of his students to the industrial applications of science. In 1809 he made a visit to London to make the scientific arrangements for the Glasgow Observatory, and during its early years he had charge, residing in the building. About 1817 he embarked on a series of important researches connected with various subjects lying within the domain of Physics and Chemistry, which found a place in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, of which he was elected a member in 1822. His *Dictionary of Chemistry*, which passed through several editions, appeared first in 1821. In 1824 appeared from his pen a translation of Berthollet's work on *Dyeing and Bleaching* (2 vols., Lond.). In 1829 appeared his *System of Geology*, one of the last text-books on the subject in which the influence of the Noachian deluge is insisted on. To his teaching labours in Anderson's College he added that of lecturing on Materia Medica, probably in the Portland Street School. On this subject he had published *Systematic Tables* in 1813. These various labours in widely differing fields show the great versatility of the man. In 1830 he removed to London as chemist to the Board of Customs, and there he published his encyclopaedic work in 1837, *The Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, and Mines*, which went through several editions. He died in 1857.

364. **GEORGE MACLEOD.** Entered in 1803. One of the original members of the Glasgow Medical Society. Died, unmarried, in 1832. (Ref. p. 188.)

365. **JOHN STENHOUSE.** Entered in 1804. Married Agnes Muir. Died 1817.

366. **ARCHIBALD BROWN.** Entered in 1804. Died in 1804 or 1805.

367. **JOHN DICK.** Entered in 1804. Left Glasgow in 1819 for Muiravonside, where he died, unmarried, in 1838.

368. **ANDREW RUSSEL.** Entered licentiate 1803, member 1805. Married Agnes Scott. Was Lecturer on Anatomy and Surgery in the College Street School, and, along with No. 397, he was tried in connection with a "resurrectionist" charge, but acquitted. About 1818 he left Glasgow for Crawfordjohn, subsequently taking up his residence in Rothesay. About 1833 he emigrated to the United States, where he died in 1861.

369. **JOHN NIMMO.** Entered as physician in 1805. M.D. Edinburgh, 1804 (Thesis, "De quibusdam foetui propriis"). Physician to the Glasgow Royal Infirmary, 1809. In 1814 he addressed to the Managers of the Infirmary a "Memorial relative to a motion for establishing a system of out-patients." Married Mary Gladstone (or Gladestone), sister of Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Gladstone of Liverpool, father of the Right Hon. Wm. Ewart Gladstone. President, 1808-10. On the death of Dr. Freer in 1827, Dr. Nimmo was spoken of as his successor in the Chair of Medicine, but he died in the same year. (Ref. *Lancet*, 1827, 120.)

370. **ALEXANDER PANTON.** Entered in 1805. M.A. Glasgow, 1805; M.D. Glasgow, 1805. Died, unmarried, in 1840.

371. **ROBERT COUPER.** Entered in 1805. M.D. Glasgow, 1805. Died, unmarried, in 1810 or 1811.

372. **ROBERT WATT.** Entered in 1807. Born in 1774 in the parish of Stewarton. In the intervals of labour on the farm, and as a stone mason, he qualified himself to begin the University course, which he entered on in 1793. During the summer months he supported himself by teaching. He obtained the licence of the Faculty in 1799, and began practice in Paisley. In that town he published his *Cases of Diabetes and Consumption*, in 1808. He had early taken as a partner in practice No. 378; this left him more time for experiments in physics and chemistry, to the study of which he was devoted. After a tour through England in 1809, he settled in Glasgow in 1810 as a physician, having received the degree of M.D. from King's College, Aberdeen. His house was in Queen Street; and in 1811 he began to lecture there on the Theory and Practice of Medicine, soon attracting a good attendance of students. For the use of his students he formed a medical library, of which in 1812 he printed a catalogue, with subject-index. The utility of a subject catalogue struck him so forcibly, that he set about enlarging the scope of that already printed so as to embrace all medical works published in the United Kingdom. To medical books were eventually added those on law, divinity, and, latterly, the whole round of science and literature. Such was the mode of evolution of the *Bibliotheca Britannica*, one of the most stupendous monuments existing of the patient labour of a single man. In 1817 he retired from professional work with a view to the completion of his task, which he accomplished before his death in 1819, though he did not live to see the publication of the work. In 1813 he published in Glasgow, *A Treatise on the History, Nature, and Treatment of Chincough* to which is

subjoined a valuable statistical enquiry into the mortality of Glasgow for thirty years. President, 1814-16. Physician to the Royal Infirmary, 1814-17. There are two portraits of him in the Faculty Hall.

373. **JOHN BAIRD.** Entered in 1807. M.D. Glasgow, 1804. Married Elizabeth Thompson. Died 1825.

374. **BENJAMIN WATTS KING.** Admitted in 1808. M.D. Glasgow, 1799. He had practised for some years in the West Indies. Surgeon to Royal Infirmary from 1822. Residence in Gordon Street (1813 and 1820). Died 1841.

375. **WILLIAM CULLEN.** Entered in 1808. Died, unmarried, in 1815.

376. **DUNCAN BLAIR.** Entered in 1808. Married Agnes Blair. President, 1836-38. About 1840 he retired to Balfron, where he died in 1852.

378. **JAMES MUIR.** Entered in 1810; licentiate in 1802. Began practice in Paisley where he was partner with No. 372. He removed to Glasgow, where he was some time partner with No. 345. Married Margaret M'Farlane. Possessed considerable artistic abilities, and was especially attached to painting, in which he had skill. Died in 1815.

379. **JAMES WATSON.** Entered in 1810. Born in Glasgow in 1787, he was educated at the Grammar School and University. He graduated M.D. Glasgow in 1828. In 1813-14 he was surgeon to the Royal Infirmary, and in 1842 he was appointed physician to the hospital. He was also physician to the Fever Hospital in Clyde Street. President, 1838-41, 1849-52, 1857-60. He took part in the long preliminary negotiations which terminated in the passing of the Medical Act of 1858; was appointed first representative of the Faculty in the General Medical Council; and in 1865 the Faculty instituted a prize in his honour, subsequently changed to a lectureship. Died in 1871. Father of No. 508. Portrait by Sir Daniel Macnee in the Faculty Hall.

380. **ROBERT GRAHAM.** Entered as physician in 1811. Born in Stirling in 1786, his father being Dr. Robert Graham (afterwards Moir of Leckie). He was educated at the University of Edinburgh, where he graduated M.D. in 1808 (Thesis, "De effectibus frigoris"). Married Elizabeth, daughter of David Buchanan of Mount Vernon and Drumpellier. In 1818 he was appointed first Professor of Botany in the University of Glasgow. President, 1816-18. In 1812 he was appointed one of the physicians of the Royal Infirmary, and gave some of the results of his experience in that office in his valuable *Practical Observations on Continued Fever* (Glasgow, 1818). The book is dated from Ingram Street, and contains statistics of fever in Glasgow from 1795. He was one of the six original members of the Glasgow Medical Society, founded in 1815. In 1820 he was transferred to the Chair of Botany in the University of Edinburgh, and soon gave a marked impetus to the teaching of that subject in that city. He set himself

to prepare materials for a work on the "Flora of Britain," but he did not live to accomplish his task. His published scientific works consist chiefly of memoirs on rare plants. He died in 1845. (Rff. *Biographical Sketch*, by Dr. Charles Ransford. Edin. 1846; *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scots.*, Vol. II.; *Dictionary of National Biography*, XVII. 358.)

381. **GEORGE HENDRIE.** Entered in 1811. Married Elizabeth Lamie. M.D. (University of St. Andrews). Died 1840.

382. **ROBERT MACKECHNIE,** Paisley. Entered in 1811; licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh, 1803. M.D. Marischall College, Aberdeen, 1820. Died 1853.

383. **JAMES WADDELL.** Entered in 1811. About 1839 he removed to Airdrie, where he died, unmarried, in 1850.

384. **FRANCIS STEEL.** Entered in 1811. M.D. Glasgow, 1805 (Thesis, "De Inflammatione"). President, 1841-42. Residence in 1834 in St. Enoch's Square, afterwards in West Regent Street. Died in 1857. Father-in-law of No. 514.

385. **JOHN TOWERS.** Entered in 1811. C.M. Glasgow, 1821; M.A., 1828. Surgeon Glasgow Royal Infirmary, 1815-16. Son of No. 328, whom he succeeded as Professor of Midwifery in the University of Glasgow in 1820. Died, unmarried, in 1833.

385a. **JOHN BURNSIDE.** Entered in 1812. In 1820 removed to Dalserf. Married Mary M'Arthur. Died in 1834.

386. **FRANCIS NEILSON.** Entered in 1812. Married Margaret Chalmers. Died in 1831.

387. **ALEXANDER BUCHANAN.** Entered in 1812. M.D. Glasgow, 1810. Married Ann Booth. Died in 1837.

388. **ROBERT PERRY.** Entered in 1812. Born in Kilmarnock in 1783, and educated at Glasgow University, where he graduated M.D. in 1808. One of the original members of the Glasgow Medical Society. President, 1843-45. Physician to the Royal Infirmary for over thirty years, and also Physician to the Fever Hospital in Clyde Street. As the result of original investigations in the latter institution, he submitted to the Medical Society a series of propositions, which establish a strong case in favour of his priority in the recognition of the non-identity of typhus and typhoid fever. (See Chap. XX.) He was an active worker in the great fever epidemic of 1843-44, and embodied his researches in his published *Facts and Observations on the Sanitary State of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1844). Married Helen M'Culloch. Father of Dr. Robert Perry, President 1889-91. Died in 1848.

389. **GEORGE WATSON.** Entered in 1812. Married Isabella M'Kechnie. President, 1845-46. Father of No. 513. Died in 1849.

390. **GEORGE CUNNINGHAM MONTEATH.** Entered as physician in 1813. Born in 1788, his father being Rev. John Monteath, Minister of the Parish of Neilston. Educated at the Arts Classes of the University, graduating M.A. 1805. Studied medicine at Glasgow University, and afterwards in London under Sir Astley Cooper. M.R.C.S. Eng., and M.D. Glasgow, 1808. In 1809 he was appointed surgeon to Lord Lovaine's Northumberland Regiment of Militia. About 1813 he settled in Glasgow, lecturing a year or two in the College Street School, and in Gallowgate, on Anatomy. In practice he resolved to devote himself to Ophthalmology, being the first specialist of the kind in the City. He published a translation of Weller's *Die Krankheiten der menschlichen Augen*, with so many added cases and observations of his own as to make it a new book, which he styled *Manual of the Diseases of the Human Eye* (2 vols., Glasgow, 1821), and which remained a standard work till superseded by Mackenzie's text-book on the subject. In association with the latter he founded the Glasgow Eye Infirmary. Married Ann, daughter of John Cunninghame of Craigend, and this lady was afterwards the wife of Lord John Campbell, who became seventh Duke of Argyle. Dr. Monteath died in 1828 from inflammation following on a night journey. Portrait in possession of Rev. Geo. C. Monteath Douglas, D.D. Nephew of No. 305. (Rff. *Chambers's Biographical Dictionary*, III. 160; *Lancet*, IX. 840; *Glasgow Medical Journal*, I. (1828) 227.

391. **JOHN COATS.** Entered in 1813. Died, unmarried, in 1827.

392. **ANDREW JARVIE.** Entered in 1813. Married Margaret Paterson. Died in 1815.

393. **JOHN MAXWELL.** Entered in 1813, when, as a member of the Society of Friends, he was allowed to make a declaration in lieu of an oath. M.D. (1822). Married Phoebe Macalister. Brother of No. 436A. Died in 1843.

394. **JOHN CAMPBELL.** Entered in 1813. Married Hannah Blair. Died in 1835.

395. **ROBERT GIBSON.** Entered in 1813. Seems to have practised successively in Glasgow, Belfast, Leith, and latterly again in Glasgow. Married Grace Rankin. Died in 1841.

396. **DAVID HENRY WILSONE.** Entered in 1813. Resided first in Stockwell and afterwards (1820) in Buchanan Street. Son of No. 291. About 1836 he went to Australia, where he died, unmarried, in 1841.

397. **GRANVILLE SHARP PATTISON.** Entered in 1813. Born in 1791, the youngest son of John Pattison of Kelvingrove, and educated in the City. While still a young man he associated himself with Allan Burns in the teaching of Anatomy in College Street School. He was, while there, tried in connection with a body-snatching case, but acquitted. In 1818 he was appointed Professor of Anatomy and Surgery in Anderson's College, and held the position for one session. In his short career as a surgeon of the Royal Infirmary

a quarrel he had with one of his colleagues led to an alteration of the rules of the Hospital. (Buchanan's *History of Glasgow Royal Infirmary*, p. 13.) Shortly after, but not in consequence of, this incident he left the City under a cloud, and betook himself to America, having been promised the Chair of Anatomy in the University of Pennsylvania. In consequence of the *fama* preceding his arrival, the promise was not kept, but he taught privately, and here he also published *Experimental Observations on Lithotomy* (1820); and in the course of a year he obtained an appointment as Lecturer on Anatomy, etc., in the University of Maryland, where he taught with distinguished success. He returned to England in 1827, and in 1828 he filled the Chair of Anatomy in the London University (now University College), which appointment he obtained over the head of Sir Charles Bell. But a serious misunderstanding having arisen between him and the Demonstrator (Dr. Bennett) he lost his Chair. On his return to America he secured the appointment of the Professorship of Anatomy in Jeafferson College, Philadelphia (1831-40). This position he worthily filled, and from it he was called, in 1840, to found the Anatomical Department of the University of New York, which he superintended with success till his death in 1851. He edited the second edition of Allan Burns' *Surgical Anatomy of the Head and Neck*, to which he prefixed a Memoir of the author. (Glasgow, 1824.) He also edited the *American Recorder* and several other publications. Married Mary Sharp. (Rff. *Autobiography of Samuel D. Gross, M.D.*, I. 92, 161; II. 256-60.)

399. **JOHN ROBERTSON.** Entered in 1813. M.D., Edinburgh, 1813. Lectured in College Street on Anatomy, 1814. (*Lancet*, IX. 840.) Physician to Glasgow Royal Infirmary, 1822-23; President, 1824-26. About 1827 he went to Bath, where he lived till 1836, when he settled in Edinburgh, having apparently retired from practice. He died in Rothesay in 1866.

400. **EBENEZER HISLOP.** Entered in 1813. Married Margaret Graham. Died in 1820.

401. **JOHN YOUNG.** Entered in 1814. M.D. Glasgow, 1823, in which year he removed to Edinburgh, where he died, unmarried, in 1825.

402. **SAMUEL CLARKE.** Entered in 1814, being the son of Mr. A. Clarke, admitted a Licentiate in 1785. Residence in George Street. Surgery, west side of High Street, near George Street. Died in 1862.

403. **ROBERT NELSON.** Entered in 1814. Married Margaret M'Whinnie. Dispensary in Trongate. Died in 1832. (Ref. Frazer, *Story of the Making of Buchanan Street*, 10.)

404. **JOHN BROWN.** Entered in 1814. Married Ann Campbell. Died in 1858.

405. **WILLIAM WYLLIE.** Entered in 1814. Married Catherine Miller. Died in 1818.

406. **JOHN REID.** Entered in 1814. M.D. Glasgow, 1808. Married Jean M'Gavin. Died in 1830.

407. **HARRY RAINY.** Entered in 1815. M.D. Glasgow, 1834. In 1828 appointed one of the surgeons of the Glasgow Eye Infirmary. From 1835-41 he lectured on the Theory of Medicine in the University of Glasgow by arrangement with Dr. Badham; and in 1841 he was appointed Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in the University, which office he resigned in 1871. Visitor of the Faculty, 1869-71. In 1817 he was appointed surgeon to the Royal Infirmary. Died in 1872.

408. **WILLIAM M'ALPIN.** Entered in 1815. Died, unmarried, in 1821.

409. **WILLIAM WEIR.** Entered in 1816. Born in Glasgow in 1794, his father being Mr. John Weir, a teacher of music and precentor in St. George's Church. He was educated at the Grammar School and University, and after being qualified he practised a short time in Lochwinnoch, and then settled in Glasgow. M.D. Glasgow, 1829. He was appointed surgeon to the Royal Infirmary in 1829, and physician in 1840. From 1830 to 1842 he was Lecturer on Medicine in the Portland Street Medical School, and Secretary of the School. President, 1847-49, and many years Treasurer, and Collector of the Widows' Fund. He was one of the original promoters and earliest contributors of the *Glasgow Medical Journal*, and was editor for several years. He added to his other offices that of Lecturer on Phrenology in the Andersonian Institution. He published an address on the *Origin and Early History of the Faculty* (1864); and gifted to the Faculty a series of extracts from the Minute Books of the Faculty, with comments. Married Helen Hunter. Died in 1876. Portrait by Graham Gilbert in Faculty Hall.

410. **WILLIAM CUMIN** (Cummin). Entered in 1816. The son of Patrick Cumin, LL.D., Professor of Oriental Languages, he was educated at Glasgow University, where he graduated M.A., 1805; M.D., 1813. Appointed Professor of Botany in Anderson's University, 1819; and of Midwifery in the University of Glasgow, 1834. Surgeon to the Glasgow Royal Infirmary, 1818, and also surgeon to the Lock Hospital and the Royal Asylum for Lunatics. Died in 1840.

411. **JOSEPH M'LEOD,** Paisley. Entered in 1816. Married Julia Browning. Died in 1831.

412. **JOHN CAMPBELL,** Largs. Entered in 1816. M.D. Glasgow, 1830. He was also a licentiate of the Edinburgh and a member of the London College of Surgeons. Engraved portrait in the Faculty Hall. Died in 1873.

413. **JAMES ARMOUR.** Entered in 1816. Born in Fenwick, Ayrshire, he was educated at the University of Glasgow, and graduated in Medicine in 1827. After studying for some time in Paris, he began to lecture on Midwifery in the College Street School about 1820, and some years after he added Medical Jurisprudence. In 1828 he was appointed Andersonian Professor of Midwifery. He contributed a number of papers to the *Glasgow Medical Journal.* Married

Rebecca Witterick. He had the reputation of being a good classical (especially Greek) scholar. Died of typhus fever in 1831. (Rff. *Lancet*, XII. 796; *Glasgow Medical Journal*, (1832) V. 110.

414. **JAMES WILSON.** Entered in 1816. Born in 1782, he was educated at the University of Glasgow, the M.D. of which he obtained in 1837. From 1830 to 1838 he lectured on Midwifery in the Portland Street School of Medicine, and he was mainly instrumental in founding the Maternity Hospital in 1851. Contributed a number of papers to the *Glasgow Medical Journal*. Father of Dr. J. G. Wilson, Andersonian Professor of Midwifery (1863-81). Died in 1857.

415. **WILLIAM COUPER.** Entered in 1817. Educated at Glasgow University, where he graduated M.A., 1811, and M.D., 1816. Appointed Professor of Natural History in the University of Glasgow, 1829. He early abandoned medical practice to devote himself to the special studies of his Chair. He had a wide and accurate acquaintance with Mineralogy, and added considerably to the mineralogical collection of the Hunterian Museum. President, 1822-24. He died in 1857. (Rff. *Glasgow, Past and Present*, 1884, I. 516; II. 116; *Glasgow Medical Journal*, 3rd series, Vol. V. 378.)

416. **MOSES STEVEN BUCHANAN.** Entered in 1818. Born in Glasgow, he was educated at the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, graduating M.D. at the latter in 1816 (Thesis, "De concoctione ciborum"). In 1830 he was appointed surgeon to the Glasgow Royal Infirmary, an office which he filled at intervals for a number of years. From 1836 to 1841 he lectured on Anatomy in the Portland Street Medical School, and in the latter year was appointed Professor of Anatomy in the Andersonian Institution. Married Agnes Leechman. He published a *History of the Glasgow Royal Infirmary* (4to, Glasgow, 1832)—a storehouse of information regarding the hospital, and also of the epidemiology of the City during the early part of the century. He also published various clinical lectures, papers on surgical subjects, medical reform, etc. Father of Dr. George Buchanan, Professor of Clinical Surgery in the University of Glasgow. Died in 1860.

417. **DAVID GIBSON.** Admitted in 1818. M.D. Edinburgh, 1817 (Thesis, "De diabete mellito"). Son of No. 348. Educated at the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, and studied also in Paris. Lectured on Botany in Portland Street School, 1840-42. Married Margaret Laird. Medical visitor to the Blind Asylum; surgeon to the Lower Ward of Lanarkshire Prisons. Died in 1860.

418. **JOHN COUPER.** Entered in 1818. Son of No. 312. Born in Glasgow in 1794, and educated at Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities, at the latter of which he graduated in Medicine in 1816 (Thesis, "De acidorum constitutione"). Appointed surgeon to the Glasgow Royal Infirmary in 1824; Assistant Physician, 1827; and Professor of Materia Medica in the University of Glasgow in 1834. "He collected at his own expense a most complete museum of the Materia Medica." (*Memorabilia of the Old College*, 125.) Died in 1855.

419. **ALEXANDER ANGUS.** Entered in 1819. Son of the teacher of an academy in Ingram Street. Surgeon to the Glasgow Royal Infirmary in 1831. Married Helen Hanna. Died of fever in 1832.

420. **ROBERT COWAN.** Entered in 1819. Born in 1796, being son of No. 339, and educated at the University of Glasgow, where he took his Medical degree in 1834. Appointed surgeon to the Glasgow Royal Infirmary in 1825, he filled the office for a number of years, giving the result of his surgical experience in contributions chiefly to the *Glasgow Medical Journal*; physician, 1836-38. In 1839 appointed Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in the University of Glasgow. He published several papers on the "Epidemiology and Vital Statistics of Glasgow" from 1835 to 1840. Married Margaret, daughter of Mr. John Black, merchant, Glasgow, their son being Dr. John Black Cowan, Professor of Materia Medica, University of Glasgow, 1865-80. (See under No. 156.) Died in 1841.

421. **THOMAS WALKER.** Entered in 1819. Son of Josiah Walker, Professor of Humanity in the University of Glasgow, and descended from a long line of ministers of the Church of Scotland, including John Knox. He was born in 1796 in Dumfriesshire, and studied medicine in Glasgow, Edinburgh, London, and Paris, being admitted a licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh in 1815, and M.D. Edinburgh, 1843. After practising for a short time in Glasgow, he settled in 1819 in Peterborough. He filled the office of surgeon to the Peterborough Infirmary for forty-three years. In 1876 he retired from practice, and died in 1887 at the age of ninety-one. (Ref. *British Medical Journal*, 1887, I. 43.)

422. **BENJAMIN M'NAIR.** Entered in 1819. Educated at Glasgow University, where he graduated in Medicine in 1815. Married Mary Miller. Died in 1844.

422A. **JOHN LOCKE.** Entered in 1819. M.D. Edinburgh, 1817 (Thesis, "De capite vulnerato"). Died, unmarried, in 1824.

423. **JAMES DRYSDALE.** Entered in 1819. Married Euphemia Thompson. Died in 1829.

424. **WILLIAM GIBSON,** New Lanark. Entered in 1819. Married Euphemia Bannatyne. Died in 1831.

425. **JAMES HAMILTON,** Paisley. Entered in 1819. Married Janet Faichney. Died in 1825.

426. **JOHN STIRLING.** Entered in 1819. Lecturer on Anatomy in the Portland Street School, 1830-36; surgeon to the Royal Infirmary from 1832. Married Helen Rose. Died in 1836.

427. **WILLIAM YOUNG.** Entered in 1819. M.D. Glasgow, 1815. Surgeon to the Glasgow Royal Infirmary from 1822. Died, unmarried, in 1837.

428. **WILLIAM MACKENZIE.** Entered in 1819. Licentiate, 1815. Born in Glasgow, 1791, he was educated at the Grammar School and University of his native

City. In 1815 he made a long tour on the Continent, and while in Vienna he studied the eye under Beer. In 1818 he returned home, and was admitted M.R.C.S. that year. After an abortive attempt to begin practice in London, he settled in Glasgow, and within a year or two we find him lecturing on various subjects—anatomy, surgery, materia medica, medical jurisprudence, and diseases of the eye. The lectures on anatomy and surgery were given in Anderson's College, of which he was appointed a Professor. In 1824 he co-operated with Dr. G. C. Monteath in founding the Eye Infirmary, and on the death of the latter in 1828, he resolved to devote himself to this specialty. In 1833 he graduated M.D. Glasgow University, and in 1843 he was made F.R.C.S. England. He was appointed surgeon oculist to the Queen in Scotland in 1838, and till his death he stood in the front rank of European oculists. Married Sophia Christina Napier. The list of his published writings is too long to be here given, but the work on which his reputation mainly rested was his *Practical Treatise on Diseases of the Eye*, published first in 1830, which ran through four English editions, and was translated into German and French; whilst a supplement, corrected by the author, was published in Brussels in 1866. He was the first editor of and a copious contributor to the *Glasgow Medical Journal*. Died in 1868. Portrait in Faculty Hall (replica of one by A. Keith in the possession of Mrs. Mackenzie); and another by Macnee in the Eye Infirmary; while the cast of a marble bust by G. Ewing is also in the Faculty Hall. (Rff. *Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men*; *Glasgow Medical Journal*, 5th series, I. 6; *Dictionary of Medical Biography*, XXXV. 164.)

429. **JOHN MACFARLANE.** Entered in 1819. Born in 1796, he was the son of a Relief Minister of Glasgow, and received his medical education mainly at the University, where he graduated M.D. in 1824. Married Mary Gray Edington. He began practice in the east end of the City, gradually moving westward as he made sure his footing. He was surgeon to the Royal Infirmary from 1826, and in 1832 he published the results of his surgical experience under the title of *Clinical Reports*, which greatly added to his reputation in that department of practice. In 1852, on the death of Dr. William Thomson, he succeeded him in the Chair of Medicine in the University of Glasgow. President, 1832-34. Owing to failing health he retired from the duties of his Chair, as well as from practice, in 1862, spending the last few years of his life in Helensburgh. Died in 1869, aged seventy-three. Portrait in the University of Glasgow.

430. **JAMES M'LEOD.** Entered in 1819. Died, unmarried, in 1821.

431. **WILLIAM FERGUSON.** Entered in 1819. M.D. Edinburgh, 1819 (Thesis, "De vaccinia"). Died, unmarried, in 1821.

431A. **GEORGE SMITH.** Entered in 1819. Married Jane J. Henry. Died in 1848.

432. **WILLIAM RICHARDSON GIBB.** Entered in 1820. Son of Rev. Gavin Gibb, D.D., Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Glasgow, he

was educated at Glasgow University, where he graduated M.D. in 1811. He served in the Peninsular War as a surgeon under Wellington. He was subsequently stationed in Canada, and was quartered at Paris during the occupation of the City by the Allies after Waterloo. Surgeon to the Royal Infirmary from 1821. Residence latterly in India Street. Died in 1855.

433. **THOMAS THOMSON.** Entered as physician in 1820. He was born at Crieff in 1773; educated at Stirling Grammar School and the Universities of St. Andrews and Edinburgh, and graduated M.D. at the latter in 1799 (Thesis, "De aero atmospherico"). In 1796 he succeeded his brother as editor of the third edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, to which he also contributed a number of articles. He opened in Edinburgh a Chemical Laboratory for pupils, and taught the subject with success, introducing into it the system of symbols, and later a new nomenclature of oxides and acids, with the number of atoms of an oxide expressed in numerals. He was the inventor of the oxy-hydrogen blowpipe; and by a series of original investigations laid the foundation of Scottish excise legislation. In 1802 he published his *System of Chemistry* (Edinburgh, 4 vols.), which went through seven editions. His *Elements of Chemistry* (Lond. 1810) and his *History of the Royal Society* (Lond. 1812) were published while he was in Edinburgh, and there also he started the *Annals of Philosophy* (Lond. 1813-22). In 1817 he was appointed Lecturer, and in 1818 Professor, of Chemistry in the University of Glasgow. Though physician to the Royal Infirmary for two years, he was probably never engaged in private medical practice in Glasgow. Some of his other works are: *An Attempt to Establish the First Principles of Chemistry by Experiment* (2 vols., London, 1825); *Outlines of Mineralogy and Geology* (2 vols., Lond.); *History of Chemistry* (2 vols., Lond. 1830). During the last eleven years of his life his nephew, Dr. R. D. Thomson, was associated with him in the duties of the Chair. Died in 1852. Portrait by Graham Gilbert (engraved by Faed) in the Hall of the Philosophical Society.

434. **LORIMER CORBETT.** Entered in 1821. Married Janet Gibson. Died in 1829.

435. **WILLIAM THOMSON.** Entered in 1821. M.D. Edinburgh, 1819. Lectured on Anatomy and Physiology, Pathology and Surgery in the College Street School. Died in 1832. (Ref. *Glasgow Medical Journal*, May, 1895, p. 323.)

436. **ALEXANDER DUNLOP ANDERSON.** Entered in 1821. Son of Mr. Andrew Anderson, merchant, Greenock, who was brother-in-law of No. 288 (*q.v.*), he was born in 1794, and studied medicine in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and London; graduated M.D. at Edinburgh in 1819 (Thesis, "De Pneumonia"). Nephew of Dr. John Anderson, founder of the "Andersonian." He was admitted M.R.C.S. Eng. in 1816, and Fellow of the same College in 1844. He entered the Army Medical Service, and was assistant-surgeon to the 49th Regiment. In 1820 he settled in practice in Glasgow, and in 1823 he was first appointed surgeon to the Royal Infirmary, an office he after-

wards held for a good many years. In 1838 he was appointed physician to the Hospital. President, 1852-55. Married Sarah, daughter of Thomas M'Call of Craighead. Father of Dr. T. M'Call Anderson and uncle of No. 495. Died in 1871. Portrait by Sir Daniel Macnee in the Faculty Hall.

436A. **ROBERT GRAY MAXWELL.** Admitted in 1821. Licentiate 1820. Brother of No. 393. Practised in Duke Street. Died in 1865.

437. **ROBERT HUNTER.** Entered in 1822. Born in 1795, he was educated at Glasgow Grammar School and University, taking the degree of M.D. in 1828. He began his career as a teacher by lecturing on Anatomy and Surgery in College Street School, and in 1828 he was appointed Professor of Anatomy in Anderson's College. In 1841 he removed to London to fill the appointment of Lecturer on Anatomy and Physiology in the Westminster Hospital School. Not finding this post to his liking he returned to Glasgow, where in 1851 he was appointed to the Chair of Surgery in the "Andersonian." He filled the office of surgeon to the Royal Infirmary for a number of years from 1857; President, 1855-57. Author of a *Text-Book of Human Anatomy*, the second edition of which is dated 1838. He was also a contributor on surgical subjects to various medical periodicals. Died in 1864. (Rff. *Lancet*, 22nd Sept., 1827, 746; *Glasgow Medical Journal*, XII. 3rd Series, 383.)

438. **JOHN RITCHIE WALLACE.** Entered in 1822. M.A. Glasgow, 1816; M.D. Glasgow, 1822. Died, unmarried, in 1825.

439. **DAVID ANDERSON.** Entered in 1822. M.D. Glasgow, 1830. Died, unmarried, in 1831.

440. **WILLIAM AUCHINCLOSS.** Entered in 1822. Educated at the University of Glasgow, where he graduated M.D. in 1828. Surgeon to the Royal Infirmary for many years, beginning in 1829. Lectured on Surgery in Portland Street Medical School from 1830 to 1838, the published outline of his course bearing date 1832. Died in 1841.

441. **JOHN AITKEN.** Entered in 1823. Graduated M.A. and M.D. Glasgow, 1815. He was some time a member of the Glasgow Town Council. Married Margaret M. Thomson. Died in his house in Blythswood Square in 1861. (Ref. *Glasgow, Past and Present*, 1884, I. 216.)

442. **WILLIAM HALL.** Entered in 1823. Educated at Glasgow University, where he graduated M.D. in 1822, having previously taken the Arts degree. Assistant-physician Glasgow Royal Infirmary, 1821-22. Left Glasgow in 1829, and travelled for several years on the Continent, and was entered as member of a number of scientific societies. He took up his residence in Exeter about 1848, and died there in 1869. Brother of No. 507.

443. **ANDREW REID.** Entered in 1824. M.D. St. Andrews, 1812. Married Margaret Railton. He was one of the Doctors of Medicine against whom

the Faculty raised a lawsuit in 1816 (p. 163). Quarantine surgeon, Glasgow, and practised on the South-side. Died in 1868.

444. **ANDREW BUCHANAN.** Entered in 1824. Born in Glasgow in 1798, his father being senior partner of the well-known firm of Buchanan, Falconer & Co., of which Dr. Buchanan's eldest brother, Walter Buchanan, M.P., was afterwards head. He was educated at the Grammar School and University, and graduated M.D. 1822. After a period of post-graduate study in Paris, he was appointed surgeon to one of the parochial districts of Glasgow, and in that field of practice he contracted the first of three attacks of typhus in which he all but lost his life, as actually did one of his pupil assistants. He was one of the projectors of the *Glasgow Medical Journal*, and succeeded Mackenzie as editor, but had to resign owing to some papers on the medical management of the sick poor giving offence in some quarters. In 1832 he threw himself with ardour into the crusade against the cholera epidemic, publishing the results of his experience. In 1835, he was appointed one of the surgeons of the Royal Infirmary; and in 1848 published his notable paper on *Lithotomy as performed with a Rectangular Staff.* In 1828 he was appointed Professor of Materia Medica in Anderson's University, and in 1839 Professor of the Institutes of Medicine in the University of Glasgow, resigning his Chair in 1876. His contributions to medical literature were very numerous, one of the most notable being some papers on *The Coagulation of Fibrinous Liquids, including the Blood*, in 1844-45; and one of the latest was his work on *The Forces which carry on the Circulation of the Blood*, 1874. President, 1877-80. Died in 1882. Engraved portrait in *Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men*, I. 45.

445. **GEORGE MURRAY MACLACHLAN.** Entered in 1824. (Probationary essay, "The Medical Uses of Iodine.") M.D. St. Andrews. He served for a few years as Army surgeon, and was appointed surgeon to the Royal Infirmary in 1827. In 1830 he went to Demerara, where he died in 1832. (Ref. *Lancet*, 1827-28, II. 569.)

446. **ROBERT MANN SMITH.** Entered in 1825. Died, unmarried, in 1827.

447. **ALEXANDER JOHN HANNAY.** Entered in 1826. (Probationary essay, "On some important points connected with Puerperal Fever.") Educated at the University of Edinburgh, where he graduated in Medicine in 1823 (Thesis, "De tartratis antimonii usu externo"). Elected as surgeon to the Glasgow Royal Infirmary in 1844. He lectured in the College Street School on the Theory and Practice of Physic (*Lancet*, 22nd Sept., 1827), and in 1828 he was appointed the first Professor of Medicine in the Andersonian Institution, which office he held till his death in 1846. Portrait by Macnee in possession of his son, Mr. Maxwell Hannay.

448. **JAMES SMITH CANDLISH.** Entered in 1826. He was apprentice or pupil to No. 361 and studied medicine in Glasgow, London, and on the

Continent, settling to practise in Glasgow about 1825. In 1829 he was appointed Professor of Surgery in Anderson's University, but he died before he could enter on his duties. Brother of Rev. Principal Candlish of Edinburgh. He was an accomplished scholar and a man of great promise. Died of typhus fever in 1829.

449. **CHARLES RITCHIE.** Entered 1827. He was educated in Glasgow, and began practice in Neilston on his obtaining the Faculty Licence in 1815. While here he published an account of the medical topography of the parish. In 1827 he came to Glasgow to practise, devoting himself largely to Medicine and Gynaecology. In 1838-40 he lectured on Midwifery in the Portland Street Medical School, graduating also M.D. Glasgow in 1839. In 1843-45 he published a series of 19 papers on "The Ovaries" in the *London Medical Gazette*, which were published in book form by his son, Dr. Charles G. Ritchie, along with some papers of his own, under the title of *Contributions to assist the Study of Ovarian Physiology and Pathology* (Lond. 1865). In 1841 he was appointed physician to the Royal Infirmary, and he published the results of his clinical experience in a series of papers on *Chronic Diseases of the Heart, Scorbutus, Fevers, etc.* President, 1862-65. Died in 1878 at Bayswater, London, to which place he had retired several years previously.

450. **JOHN SPITTAL.** Entered in 1827. (Probationary essay, "Summary View of the Practical Utility of the Stethoscope.") M.D. Glasgow, 1826. Appointed assistant-physician to the Royal Infirmary in 1830, and in 1837 surgeon to the Hospital. Residence in 1834 in Trongate. Died, unmarried, in 1840.

451. **ROBERT M'NISH.** Entered in 1827. (Probationary essay, "The Anatomy of Drunkenness.") Son of No. 347, he was born in Glasgow in 1802, and studied medicine at the University, where he graduated C.M. in 1820 and M.D. in 1825. After serving as an assistant in Caithness, he studied in Paris, and finally settled to practise in Glasgow. He early devoted himself to literature, contributing articles to *Blackwood's Magazine* and other periodicals. His *Metempsychosis*, probably the most important of his contributions in pure literature, appeared in *Blackwood* in 1828. His most ambitious work, *The Philosophy of Sleep*, the preface of which was contributed by his friend D. M. Moir ("Delta"), was published in Glasgow in 1830, and a second edition in 1834. His *Anatomy of Drunkenness*, the subject of his probationary essay, was published in 1827, and went through many editions. In 1833 he published his *Book of Aphorisms*, and in 1835 his *Introduction to Phrenology*, and next year appeared Brigham's *Remarks on the Influence of Mental Cultivation and Mental Excitement upon Health*, with annotations by Dr. M'Nish. On his death in 1837 his friend "Delta" collected his tales and sketches, and published them with a Memoir in 2 vols. (Edin. 1838), under the title of *The Modern Pythagorean*, which M'Nish had used as a *nom de plume*. Bust by Dobbie in the Faculty Hall.

453. **JOHN M. PAGAN.** Entered in 1827. ("Probationary essay, "Remarks on the Pathology of Apoplexy.") Born at Halglen, parish of Auchinleck, Ayrshire, the son of a sheep-farmer, he was educated at Irvine Academy, and studied medicine at the University of Edinburgh, graduating in 1823 (Thesis, "De Syncope Anginosa"). In 1825 he began practice in Preston, Lancashire, and settled in Glasgow two years later. In 1833 he was appointed one of the surgeons of the Royal Infirmary. In 1830 he began to lecture on Medical Jurisprudence in Portland Street Medical School, continuing this post till his appointment to the Chair of Midwifery in Glasgow University in 1840. He was Librarian to the Faculty for several years, and compiled a catalogue of the collection. He published *The Medical Jurisprudence of Insanity* (Lond. 1840). Died in 1868.

454. **JOHN M'DOWALL.** Entered in 1827. Licentiate 1819. M.D. Glasgow, 1817. Married Caroline Shaw. Died in 1857.

454A. **JAMES BROWN.** Admitted in 1827. A native of Paisley and educated in Glasgow. Married Jean Macome. Lecturer on Anatomy and Physiology in the Mechanics' Institution; Professor of Midwifery in Anderson's University, 1834-41. His surgery in Argyle Street at the head of York Street. Died in 1846. (Ref. p. 170.)

455. **THOMAS GRAY.** Entered in 1828. Married Isabella Gilchrist. Died in 1848.

456. **WILLIAM LYON.** Entered in 1828. ("Probationary essay, "On Delirium Tremens.") Licentiate 1816. Educated at Glasgow University, he began to practise a few miles to the east of the City, but eventually settled in Glasgow, gradually moving westward as his practice increased. In 1839 he was elected a surgeon of the Royal Infirmary, and with intermissions held this office for many years. In 1841-43 he lectured on Surgery in the Portland Street Medical School. In 1859 he graduated in medicine in the University of Glasgow. President, 1860-62. He made several contributions on surgical subjects to the periodicals, and was long one of the best known medical men in Glasgow. Died in 1874.

457. **WILLIAM DAVIDSON.** Entered in 1828. L.R.C.S. Edinburgh, 1816. M.D. Glasgow, 1825. In 1838 he was elected a physician to the Royal Infirmary. He was Lecturer on Materia Medica in the Portland Street Medical School from 1830 to 1840. About 1846 he removed to Largs, and two years later to Greenock. Married Elizabeth Williamson. He was the author of *Lectures on Pharmacology* (Glasgow, 1834), the Thackeray Prize Essay on *Fever* (Lond. 1841, and Glasgow 1846), *Treatise on Diet*, 1843. He also contributed a series of Clinical Lectures to the *London Medical Gazette*, 1840, and other papers. Died in 1859.

458. **PETER MACFARLANE.** Entered in 1828. He removed to Gartmore in 1835. Married Jean Hunter. Died in 1837.

459. **WILLIAM CHALMERS.** Entered as physician in 1828. M.D. Aberdeen, 1805; M.R.C.S. Eng., 1805. In 1805 he entered as surgeon in the service

of the East India Company, remaining in India for twenty years. In 1829 he was elected assistant-physician to the Royal Infirmary. About 1832 he removed to England, and for the last eight years of his life he lived in Brighton, where he died in 1862.

460. **WILLIAM M'KAY.** Entered in 1828. Died, unmarried, in 1831.

461. **WILLIAM M'TYER.** Entered in 1829. (Probationary essay, "Observations on the Pathology and Treatment of Cancer.") He was born in Glasgow, and studied medicine at the University, where he graduated in 1826, and next year was admitted M.R.C.S. About 1830 he removed to Ayrshire, and for upwards of forty years practised in Maybole, having a connection as consultant in the surrounding district. Married Janet Rowan. He was devoted to the study of Microscopy and Natural History. Died in 1878.

462. **WILLIAM SHIRREFF.** Entered in 1829. (Probationary essay, "On the Pathology of Excretion.") In 1831 he removed to India as a surgeon in the East India Company. Married Frances Elizabeth Wood. Died in 1840.

463. **JAMES JOHN KNOX.** Entered in 1829. (Probationary essay, "On the Treatment of Strumous Iritis.") Died in 1837.

464. **GEORGE WATT.** Entered in 1829. (Probationary essay, "The Pathology of Pulmonary Consumption.") He was born in Glasgow and educated at the Grammar School, the University, and Anderson's College. In 1849 he was appointed surgeon to the Royal Infirmary. In 1831 he was elected Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in the "Andersonian," resigning the office in 1842. He was Parliamentary Inspector of Madhouses in Lanarkshire, and was Representative of the Faculty to the General Medical Council, 1860-63. Married Margaret Monteith. Died in 1863.

465. **JAMES ADAIR LAWRIE.** Entered in 1830. Born at Loudon Manse in 1801, he studied in the University of Glasgow, and on his graduating M.D. in 1822 he went out to India in the East India Company's service. Having returned to this country he began practice in Glasgow in 1828, was appointed surgeon to the Royal Infirmary, and in 1829 was elected Andersonian Professor of Surgery. In 1832 he devoted himself with ardour to the study of cholera, visiting, for this purpose, Sunderland, Newcastle, and Gateshead, publishing the results of his investigations, and of his Indian experiences of the disease. In 1850 he was appointed Professor of Surgery in the University of Glasgow, and in 1858-59 he was the Representative of the Universities of Glasgow and St. Andrews to the General Medical Council. His contributions to surgery appeared chiefly in the *Glasgow Medical Journal*, which he edited for some time. Died in 1859.

466. **JOHN A. FULLARTON.** Entered in 1830. (Probationary essay, "On Croup.") He practised only for a short time, joining the publishing firm of Archibald

Fullarton & Co., and removed to Edinburgh in 1843. Married Helen Frew. Died in 1882.

467. **THOMAS GRAHAM**, F.R.S. Entered in 1830. (Probationary essay, "On the tendency of Air and the different Gases to Mutual Penetration.") Born in Glasgow in 1805, he studied at the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, devoting himself largely to physical and chemical science. In 1828 he lectured on Chemistry in Portland Street School, and next year in the Mechanics' Institution; and in 1830 he was appointed Professor of Chemistry in the Andersonian, in succession to Dr. Ure. His distinguished career as a chemist cannot be followed here in detail. In 1837 he was appointed Professor in the London University (University College), and in 1854 Master of the Mint. It was in 1833, while in Glasgow, that his most important contribution to pure chemistry was published, entitled *Researches on the Arseniates, Phosphates, and Modifications of Phosphoric Acid*, which formed the starting point of the theory of the basicity of acids, which memoir was reissued as No. 10 of the "Alembic Club Reprints," 1895. His name will ever be associated with his researches on the diffusion of gases. His memoir on the *Diffusion of Liquids* appeared in 1849-50. His friend, Mr. James Young of Kelly, published his collected *Chemical and Physical Researches* after his death, which happened in 1869. (Ref. Thorpe's *Essays on Historical Chemistry*, 1894, 160-235.) Statue in George Square, Glasgow.

468. **JOHN M'EWAN.** Entered in 1831. (Probationary essay, "On the Physiology and Pathology in the Non-vascular Tissues, especially those of the Eye.") M.D. Glasgow, 1827. Married Isabella Clow. Died in 1856.

469. **WILLIAM NIMMO.** Entered in 1831. (Probationary essay, "Illustrations of the Theory of Mental Derangement.") M.D. Glasgow, 1835. Assistant-surgeon to the Eye Infirmary; lecturer on Surgery in College Street. In 1836 he went out to Demerara, where he died in 1841. Author of *Description of the Anatomy of Inguinal and Femoral Hernia* (4to, Glasgow, 1835).

470. **JAMES MILLER.** Entered in 1832. (Probationary essay, "On the Nature and Treatment of Mania a Potu.") Born in Glasgow, and educated in the University, he left the profession to enter the firm of Miller and Son, wrights and builders. Married Jane Blair. Author of *Architecture, Architects and Builders of the Middle Ages* (Glasgow, 1851), *History, Nature and Objects of Masonry* (London, 1853). Died in 1861.

471. **ALLAN BURNS.** Entered in 1832. (Probationary essay, "On Tetanus.") Born in Glasgow in 1810, he was the youngest of the four children of No. 344. Educated at the University of Glasgow, he studied afterwards for some years on the Continent. Began practice in Glasgow about 1832, and having a great liking for anatomical pursuits, he gave promise of future eminence when he was cut off by intermittent fever in 1843.

473. **JOHN DRUMMOND.** Entered in 1832. (Probationary essay, "On Diabetes Mellitus.") Married Elizabeth Arneil Paterson. Died in 1843.

474. **DAVID WARK.** Entered in 1832. (Probationary essay, "Practical Remarks on Fever.") Went out to Australia, where he died in 1862.

475. **JAMES M'CONECHY.** Entered in 1832. Born at Kilblane in 1796, he was educated at the University of Glasgow. M.D. Glasgow, 1858. He lectured on Chemistry in the Portland Street School in 1833-35. Lieutenant, Royal Marines. For twenty-three years he was editor of a newspaper, the *Glasgow Courier*. Died in 1866.

476. **JOSEPH FLEMING.** Entered in 1834. Contributed a series of articles on "Ventilation as a Means of Preventing Infection," to the *Glasgow Medical Examiner*, 1832. Latterly chiefly engaged in practice under the Factory Act. Surgeon to the Police Force, Western District, in connection with which office he gave expert evidence in the Sandyford murder trial. Died at Dunoon in 1879.

477. **JOHN GIBSON FLEMING.** Entered in 1833. (Probationary essay, "Pathology and Treatment of Ramollisement of the Brain.") Born in 1809, descended from an old Glasgow family, he was educated at the Grammar School and University of his native city, and graduated M.D. in 1830, studying subsequently in Paris. Having begun practice in Glasgow, he was appointed a surgeon of the Royal Infirmary in 1846, and for a number of years after he had ceased to be surgeon he was connected with the hospital as Manager. In the latter capacity he published a pamphlet in the form of a letter to the Managers, which eventuated, in 1870, in some changes in the organization of the House. It was on his initiative that on the removal of the University to Gilmorehill a Medical School was affiliated to the Infirmary. This school he inaugurated by an address in 1874. President, 1865-68, 1870-72. He was representative of the Faculty to the General Medical Council, 1863-78, and Examiner in Glasgow University. He published *The Medical Statistics of Life Assurance* (Glasgow, 1870) founded on the experience of the Scottish Amicable Company, of which he was medical adviser. Died in 1879. Father of William James Fleming, M.D., surgeon to the Glasgow Royal Infirmary, 1886-95. Portrait by Sir Daniel Macnee in the Faculty Hall, and engraved portrait in *Memorials and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men.*

478. **CHARLES BRYCE.** Entered in 1833. (Probationary essay, "On Cholera.") M.D. Glasgow, 1824. After practising in various places he was attached to the Army Medical Staff on special service at Scutari hospitals. On his return from the East he settled at Brighton, where he died in 1874. His most important contributions to medical literature were a *Memoir on the Remittent Fever of the Levant*, which was prepared at the request of the Army Medical Department for the special use of the Medical Staff of the Crimean army; and *England and France before Sebastopol, looked at from a Medical Point of View* (Lond. 1857).

479. **WILLIAM CRAIG.** Entered in 1833. (Probationary essay, "On the Use of the Stethoscope in Diseases of the Chest.") M.D. Glasgow, 1828. Lecturer on the Theory of Medicine in the Portland Street Medical School, 1833-36. Died in 1836.

480. **FRANCIS PARKER.** Entered in 1834. (Probationary essay, "On Pericarditis.") M.D. Glasgow, 1833. In 1837 he went to India in the service of the East India Company, where he died in 1841.

481. **JAMES DOUGLAS.** Entered in 1835. (Probationary essay, "On Phlebitis, particularly as connected with Secondary Abscesses.") Lecturer on Anatomy in the Portland Street School, 1841-43. Married Agnes D. Atkinson. Author of *A Popular View of the Anatomy of the Human Body.* Died in 1844.

482. **JOHN JACKSON.** Entered in 1835. (Probationary essay, "On Apoplexy.") M.D. Glasgow, 1838. Lecturer on Medical Jurisprudence in the Portland Street Medical School, 1842-43. Died in 1844.

483. **PETER STIRLING.** Entered in 1835. (Probationary essay, "On Uterine Haemorrhage occurring during Pregnancy.") M.D. Glasgow, 1832. Died in 1846.

484. **JAMES JEFFRAY, Jun.** Entered in 1836. (Probationary essay, "On Pleurisy.") M.D. Glasgow, 1834. Son of No. 340, whom he assisted in the duties of the Anatomy Chair in the University some years before his father's death. Did not practise. Died, unmarried, in 1886.

485. **NINIAN HILL.** Entered in 1836. (Probationary essay, "Notes on the Insufficiency of the Aortic Valves of the Heart.") M.D. Glasgow, 1830. Married Marion Lancaster. In 1842 removed to London, and in 1847 to Guernsey, where he died in 1852.

485A. **HANDASIDE DUNCAN.** Entered in 1836. (Probationary essay, "Remarks on Hydrocephalus.") M.D. Glasgow, 1835. About 1838 he removed to Adelaide, South Australia, where he died in 1878.

486. **ROBERT M'GREGOR.** Entered in 1837. (Probationary essay, "Experimental Enquiry into the Comparative State of Healthy and Diseased Urine.") L.R.C.S. Edinburgh, 1833; M.D. Glasgow, 1842. In 1848 appointed physician to the Glasgow Royal Infirmary, and in connection with his previous office of apothecary to the Hospital, published *Pharmacopoeia in usum Nosocomii Regii Glasgwensis* (2nd ed. Glasgow, 1835), which went through several editions. He lectured on Chemistry in the Portland Street Medical School from 1836 till it closed about 1844, and subsequently in a room in College Street up to about 1850. Died in 1855.

487. **WILLIAM DAWSON HOOKER.** Entered in 1839. (Probationary essay, "On the Cinchonas, their History, Uses, and Effects.") Born in 1816, the son of Sir William Jackson Hooker, Professor of Botany in the University, and subsequently Director of the Kew Gardens, he was educated at the

University, graduating M.D. in 1839. Married Isabella Smith. He visited Norway in 1837, and in 1839 published *Notes on Norway*, containing some shrewd observations on Natural History. In 1839 he was appointed Professor of Materia Medica in Anderson's University, but died before the completion of the session, on 1st January, 1840, at Kingston, Jamaica. He had made a considerable ornithological collection.

488. **JOHN D. MUTER.** Entered in 1839. (Probationary essay, "On Dissection Wounds.") Lecturer on Materia Medica in the Portland Street School, 1841-42. Father of Mr. John Muter, editor of *The Analyst*, and author of works on Pharmaceutical Chemistry. Died in 1862.

489. **ARCHIBALD BROWN.** Entered in 1839. (Probationary essay, "On Creasote.") Married Jane M'Coll. Died in 1848.

490. **JOHN PANTON.** Entered in 1840. (Probationary essay, "On Uterine Phlebitis.") M.D. Edinburgh, 1838. Served as surgeon to the Royal Navy. Married Mary Eliza M'Bride. Died in 1864.

491. **ALEXANDER MAXWELL ADAMS.** Entered in 1840. Probationary essay, "On Scarlatina." M.D. King's College, Aberdeen, 1849. Married Eliza Craig. Lecturer on Midwifery in the Portland Street Medical School, 1840-42. Professor of the Institutes of Medicine, Anderson's University, 1846-50. Surgeon to the Lock Hospital. Brother of No. 506. Removed to Lanark about 1850 where he died in 1867.

492. **HUGH MORRIS LANG.** Entered in 1840. (Probationary essay, "On Delirium Tremens.") M.D. Glasgow, 1832. Practised in Largs, but for many years has lived retired on his estate in Selkirkshire.

493. **HENRY WILSON CLELAND.** Entered in 1840. (Probationary essay, "On the History and Properties, Chemical and Medical, of Tobacco," a repertory of out-of-the-way information, recondite references, and quaint conceits, in which not only the historical and scientific aspects of his theme are discussed, but its position in literature considered, the whole having a good deal of the flavour of Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*.) Son of James Cleland, LL.D., the annalist, historian, and statistician of Glasgow. He was educated at the University of Glasgow, where he graduated M.D. in 1840. Lecturer on Medical Jurisprudence in the Portland Street Medical School 1840-42. Died, unmarried, in 1844. Sketch Portrait on the cover of his "Essay."

494. **JOHN ALEXANDER EASTON.** Entered in 1840. (Probationary essay, "Cursory Remarks on the Action of Medicines.") Licentiate 1828. M.D. Glasgow, 1828. He was born in India (his father being in the Indian Medical Service), and educated in Glasgow. Appointed physician to the Royal Infirmary in 1852; he was also medical officer to the Glasgow Police. He was appointed Professor of Materia Medica in Anderson's University in 1840, and was elected to the Chair on the same subject in the Glasgow University in

1855. He is perhaps most widely known for the introduction of what is now known as "Easton's Syrup." He contributed a number of papers to the medical periodicals. Died in 1867.

495. **ANDREW ANDERSON.** Entered in 1840. (Probationary essay, "Observations on Typhus.") Eldest son of James A. Anderson, Esq., of Carlung, Manager of the Union Bank, and nephew of No. 436, he was educated at Glasgow University, graduating M.D. in 1839. In 1840 he was appointed Professor of the Institutes of Medicine in Anderson's College, in 1844 assistant-surgeon and afterwards surgeon and consulting surgeon to the Eye Infirmary, and in 1846 Professor of Practice of Medicine in Anderson's College, resigning the office in 1863. Married Jane, daughter of Mr. James Reddie, Town Clerk of Glasgow. President, 1868-70, filling the office at his death in 1870. Contributed copiously to the medical journals, and published *Five Lectures Introductory to the Study of Fever* (Lond. 1861). Examiner in the University of Glasgow.

496. **ALEXANDER MACLAVERTY.** Entered in 1841. (Probationary essay, "Comparison of the Advantages of Lithotomy and Lithotrity.") M.D. Edinburgh, 1838; L.R.C.S. Edinburgh, 1839. Removed from Glasgow to Ross, Herefordshire. Retired from practice.

497. **ALEXANDER FORBES.** Entered in 1841. (Probationary essay, "Nature and Treatment of Anasarca and Ascites.") M.D. Glasgow, 1833. About 1861 removed to Auchterarder, where he died in 1877.

498. **JAMES PATERSON.** Entered in 1841. (Probationary essay, "On Cancer of the Uterus.") C.M. Glasgow, 1834; M.D., 1836. In 1841 appointed Professor of Midwifery in Anderson's University, resigning the Chair in 1863. In 1865 his name was prominently before the public in connection with his evidence in the Pritchard trial, and his claim to have detected poisoning from the symptoms during life. Died in 1881.

499. **WILLIAM HUTCHESON.** Entered in 1842. M.D. Edin., 1838; F.R.C.P. Edinburgh, 1844. The first Resident Physician-Superintendent to the Glasgow Royal Asylum for Lunatics. In 1850 he removed to London, and in a year or two thereafter to Troon. Married Jane F. M'Rorie. Died in 1863.

500. **ALEXANDER FISHER.** Entered in 1842. (Probationary essay, "Observations on Hooping-Cough.") M.D. Married Elizabeth Roxburgh. Died in George Street in 1855.

501. **ALEXANDER KING.** Entered in 1842. (Probationary essay, "Remarks on Amputations.") M.D. Glasgow, 1843. Married Jane D. Cleghorn. Died in 1859.

502. **JOHN FINDLAY.** Entered in 1842. (Probationary essay, "On Peritonitis.") M.D. Glasgow, 1841. Married Elizabeth Robertson. Died in 1849.

503. **JOHN CRAWFORD.** Entered in 1842. (Probationary essay, "On the expediency of abolishing mechanical restraint in the treatment of the Insane in Lunatic Asylums.") M.D. Glasgow, 1838; M.R.C.S., 1840. Medical Officer of the Town's Hospital. Physician to the Glasgow Cholera Hospital, 1854-55. Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in Anderson's College, 1842-56. In the latter year removed to Carstairs, where he died in 1879.

504. **CHARLES CRAWFORD,** Gourock. Entered in 1843. (Probationary essay, "On Asphyxia.") M.D. Glasgow, 1845; C.M., 1827. Died in 1855.

505. **JOSEPH BELL.** Entered in 1844. Probationary essay, "On the Treatment of some forms of Incipient Phthisis.") Licentiate, 1837; M.D. St. Andrews, 1832. Born in 1817, and studied medicine at Anderson's University. Practised first in Barrhead, whence he removed to Glasgow. Appointed physician to the Royal Infirmary in 1853, and Professor of Botany in the Andersonian College in 1847. Married Elizabeth Stephen. He was a considerable contributor to periodical medical literature. Died in 1863.

506. **JAMES ADAMS.** Entered in 1846. (Probationary essay, "On Tubercle of the Brain in Children.") L.R.C.S. Edinburgh, 1841; M.D. Aberdeen, 1849. Born in 1818, and educated at the Edinburgh School. Has served the Faculty as Councillor, Librarian, Examiner, etc. President of the Glasgow Medical Society; Secretary of the same society, and President and Secretary of the Glasgow Medico-Chirurgical Society; has contributed copiously to periodical medical literature, chiefly in the department of hygiene. In 1865, in conjunction with Dr. F. Penny, he instituted a series of experiments on animals, with a view to the detection of aconite by its physiological actions, in connection with the Pritchard murder trial. Brother of No. 491. Father of Dr. James A. Adams and Mr. F. V. Adams, both Fellows.

507. **ALFRED HALL,** Brighton. Entered in 1847. (Probationary essay, "On the great prevalence of Venereal Diseases in Great Britain.") Brother of No. 442. M.D. Edinburgh, 1840; F.R.C.P. London, 1873. Formerly Vice-president Obstetrical Society of London.

508. **EBENEZER WATSON.** Entered in 1849. (Probationary essay, "On the Organ of the Human Voice.") Son of No. 379, he was born in 1824, and educated at the University of Glasgow, where he graduated in Arts in 1844, and in Medicine in 1846. In 1850 he was appointed Professor of the Institutes of Medicine in Anderson's University, and resigned the Chair in 1876. In 1856 he was appointed surgeon to the Royal Infirmary, and filled the office for many years. President, 1872-74. Married Mary Ferrier Young, daughter of J. H. Young, Esq., of Ruchill. He contributed copiously to periodical medical literature, mainly on surgical subjects, and published a treatise *On the Topical Medication of the Larynx in certain Diseases of the Respiratory and Vocal Organs* (Lond. 1854). Died in 1886.

509. **ANDREW RISK.** Entered in 1850. (Probationary essay, "On Iron and its Preparations.") Married Louise A. Grenet, a French lady. Died in 1861.

510. **ROBERT TELFER CORBETT.** Entered in 1850. Licentiate, 1841. M.D. Glasgow, 1841. Appointed surgeon to the Glasgow Royal Infirmary, 1855. Medico-legal Examiner for Glasgow, and latterly engaged chiefly in aural practice. He emigrated to New Zealand, where he died in 1877.

511. **WILLIAM DRURY.** Entered in 1850. Licentiate, 1822. M.D. Glasgow, 1840. Physician to Garngad Asylum. He retired to Shrewsbury, where he died in 1855.

512. **ANDREW FERGUS.** Entered in 1850. Born in 1822. Son of a Presbyterian clergyman in Newcastle-on-Tyne, he was educated at University College, London, and in medicine at Glasgow University and King's College, London. Admitted M.R.C.S. England, 1845. In 1847 he was appointed in Glasgow as one of the district surgeons of the city. In 1854 he had considerable experience of the cholera epidemic, his treatment consisting of large doses of opium at the onset, with rest. He also made investigations into the relations of typhoid fever and diphtheria to a corroded condition of the soil pipes, and other sanitary subjects. From 1870 to 1874 he was a member of the Town Council. President, 1874-77 and 1883-86. In 1883 he received the appointment of Queen's Representative for Scotland on the General Medical Council. For the years 1877-80 he was President of the Glasgow Philosophical Society. He was also on the governing bodies of the Western Infirmary, the Eye Infirmary, Anderson's College, etc., and Examiner in the University. Father of Dr. A. Freeland Fergus. Died in 1887. Portrait in the Faculty Hall.

513. **THOMAS WATSON.** Entered in 1851; Licentiate, 1836. M.D. Glasgow, 1846. Son of No. 389, and father of Mr. G. L. Watson, the well-known naval architect. Appointed physician to the Glasgow Royal Infirmary, 1857. He was also Examiner in the University of Glasgow. Died in 1867.

514. **ROBERT DUNLOP TANNAHILL.** Entered in 1851. L.R.C.S. Edinburgh, 1840; M.D. King's College, Aberdeen, 1854. Born in Kilmarnock in 1811. Studied medicine at Glasgow, and practised some time in Kilmarnock and Campsie before settling in Glasgow. Appointed physician to the Royal Infirmary in 1856, and subsequently also physician-accoucheur to the Maternity Hospital, surgeon to the Lock Hospital, and medical officer to the Old Man's Institution. Son-in-law of No. 384. Died in 1887.

515. **JAMES STEVEN.** Entered in 1851. Born in Hamilton in 1827, and educated at Hamilton Grammar School, and at Glasgow University, where he graduated M.D. with Honours in 1848. In that year he volunteered to act in the cholera epidemic in Dumfries, and on his return began practice in Glasgow in 1849. Appointed physician to the Royal Infirmary in 1865. He acted for some time as one of the editors of the *Glasgow Medical Journal.* Died of renal disease in 1873.

516. **JAMES FRASER.** Entered in 1851. Licentiate, 1843. M.D. King's College, Aberdeen, 1854. Medical officer for the Clyde under the Passengers' Act.

Author of *The Emigrant's Medical Guide* (Glasgow, 1853). Appointed physician to the Glasgow Royal Infirmary in 1860. A few years before his death he removed to Gatehouse of Fleet. Died in 1870.

517. **ROBERT PARKER.** Entered in 1851. Licentiate, 1844; M.D. St. Andrews, 1851. Practised in Tradeston district. Died in 1860.

517A. **JOHN BURNS.** Entered in 1851; Licentiate 1848; Governor of St. Mungo's College Medical School.

518. **GEORGE ROBERTSON.** Entered in 1851. Licentiate, 1836. M.D. Glasgow, 1840. A native of Paisley, he was educated in medicine in Glasgow, and latterly practised chiefly as a specialist in eye diseases. Appointed physician to the Royal Infirmary in 1855. Died in 1869.

519. **JOHN COATS.** Entered in 1851. L.R.C.S. Edinburgh, 1836; M.D. Glasgow, 1836. He was a native of East Kilbride, and was educated at the University of Glasgow. He was for many years Examiner in Arts and in Medicine, and also Treasurer of the Faculty, and also an Examiner in Medicine in the University of Glasgow. Father of Surgeon Lieut.-Col. James Coats. Died in 1879. Portrait in the Faculty Hall.

520. **JAMES MORTON.** Entered in 1851. L.R.C.S. Edinburgh, 1844; M.D. St. Andrews, 1845. He was born at Ochiltree, Ayrshire, in 1820, and to a great extent was self-educated. When about twenty-one he entered Anderson's University, and on being qualified commenced practice on the south-side of the Clyde in Glasgow, changing to the north-side in 1851. In 1855 he was appointed Professor of Materia Medica in Anderson's University and held the position till 1888. In 1859 he was appointed surgeon to the Royal Infirmary, and, with an intermission of two years, held office till 1885. In 1871 he introduced the treatment of Spina Bifida by the injection of iodo-glycerine solutions. On this subject he published a monograph, *The Treatment of Spina Bifida by a New Method* (Lond. 1877), a second edition of which appeared in 1887. In 1885 he had the gratification of seeing his method endorsed by the Special Committee of the Clinical Society of London as the best and the only method they felt justified in recommending. President, 1886-89. LL.D. Glasgow, 1888. Died in 1889. Portrait, by his son, in the Faculty Hall.

VIII.

ROLL OF HONORARY MEMBERS AND FELLOWS.

1. **JAMES STEVEN.** Enrolled 7th June, 1736. "Surgeon to the Honourable Generall Wytham's Regiment of Foot now in lying-in quarters in Glasgow."

2. **WILLIAM HUNTER.** Enrolled 4th March, 1751. The eminent Anatomist, Physician, and Obstetrician, founder of the Hunterian Museum of Glasgow. M.D. Glasgow, 1750. Died in 1783. Portrait by Reynolds in the Hunterian Museum, and another in the Faculty Hall.

3. **WILLIAM HASTIE.** Enrolled 6th January, 1755. "Surgeon to the Honourable Edward Skelton's Regiment of Foot now quartered in Glasgow, as descended from Mr. Peter Low, the Faculty's great benefactor."

4. **JOHN BRISBANE.** Enrolled 4th December, 1768. Son of Dr. Thomas Brisbane, the first Professor of Anatomy and Botany, University of Glasgow: No. 195 Roll of Members. M.D. Edinburgh, 1750. Physician to the Middlesex Hospital, 1758-73. Author of *The Anatomy of Painting* (Lond. 1769). Died about 1776.

5. **SIR JAMES M'GRIGOR.** Enrolled 3rd January, 1825. Director-General of the Army Medical Department, 1815-51. Died in 1858.

6. **SIR WILLIAM BURNETT, K.C.B.** Enrolled 3rd January, 1842. M.D. Aberdeen. Physician-General of the Navy. Introduced Burnett's Disinfecting Fluid. Died in 1861.

7. **SIR ANDREW SMITH, K.C.B.** Enrolled 6th August, 1855. Director-General of the Army Medical Department, 1851-58. Died in 1872.

8. **DAVID LIVINGSTONE.** Enrolled 5th January, 1857. The celebrated African Missionary and Explorer. Student of Anderson's College. Licentiate of the Faculty, 1840. Died in 1873. Portrait in Faculty Hall.

9. **SIR JOHN LIDDELL, K.C.B.** Enrolled 6th September, 1858. M.D. Edinburgh, 1794. Director-General of the Medical Department of the Navy, 1854-64. Died in 1868.

10. **CHARLES EDOUARD BROWN-SÉQUARD.** Enrolled 7th November, 1859. The eminent experimental Physiologist and Pathologist. In 1859 he delivered a course of lectures in Glasgow. Died in 1894.

11. **ALEXANDER BRYSON, C.B.** Enrolled 1st July, 1867. Director-General of the Medical Department of the Navy, 1864-69. A native of the parish of Houstoun. Educated in Glasgow. Licentiate of the Faculty, 1825; M.D. Glasgow, 1837. Died in 1869.

12. **JAMES HENDERSON.** Enrolled 6th December, 1869. Inspector-General of Hospitals to the Army. A native of Glasgow, and educated there. Licentiate of the Faculty, 1809: also M.D. Glasgow, 1822. Died in 1871.

13. **JAMES SYME.** Enrolled 3rd January, 1870. The eminent Scottish Surgeon. Professor of Clinical Surgery, University of Edinburgh. Died in 1870.

14. **ALLEN THOMSON.** Enrolled 3rd September, 1877. Born in 1809, his father being Professor John Thomson of Edinburgh, and his brother Professor William Thomson of Glasgow. M.D. Edinburgh, 1830; F.R.C.S. Edinburgh, 1831. After teaching for some years in Edinburgh in association with Mr. William Sharpey he filled in succession the offices of Professor of Anatomy in Marischal College, Aberdeen (1839), Professor of Institutes of Medicine, Edinburgh University (1842), and Professor of Anatomy, Glasgow University (1848-77). As a teacher of Anatomy in Glasgow he earned great reputation, whilst he took an active interest in everything which concerned the University and the medical profession. He was President of the Medico-Chirurgical Society, and Representative of the Universities of Glasgow and St. Andrews in the General Medical Council. He was one of the editors of the 7th and 8th editions of *Quain's Anatomy*, and a contributor of a number of the articles in Todd's *Cyclopaedia of Anatomy and Physiology*. As an investigator he was best known by his researches in Embryology, chiefly published in the last-named work. He retired from office as a teacher in 1877, and in the same year he was President of the Plymouth Meeting of the British Association. He was a Fellow, Member of Council, and Vice-President of the Royal Society, and received the honorary degree of LL.D. from the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow. Died in 1884.

15. **SIR BENJAMIN WARD RICHARDSON.** Enrolled 3rd June, 1870. The well-known London Physician. Educated at Anderson's College; Licentiate of the Faculty, 1850. Faculty Lecturer, 1877. M.D. St. Andrews, 1854. F.R.S., F.R.C.P., etc.

CORRIGENDA.

Page 182, line 7, for "Dr. John Nimmo on Medicine" read "Mr. Andrew Nimmo on Surgery."

Page 185, third column, headed "Portland Street School," for "Peter Stirling" read "John Stirling."

Page 246, lines 8 and 11, for "Lillian" read "Lillias."

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